

MAXIMILIAN AND CARLOTTA

A STORY OF IMPERIALISM

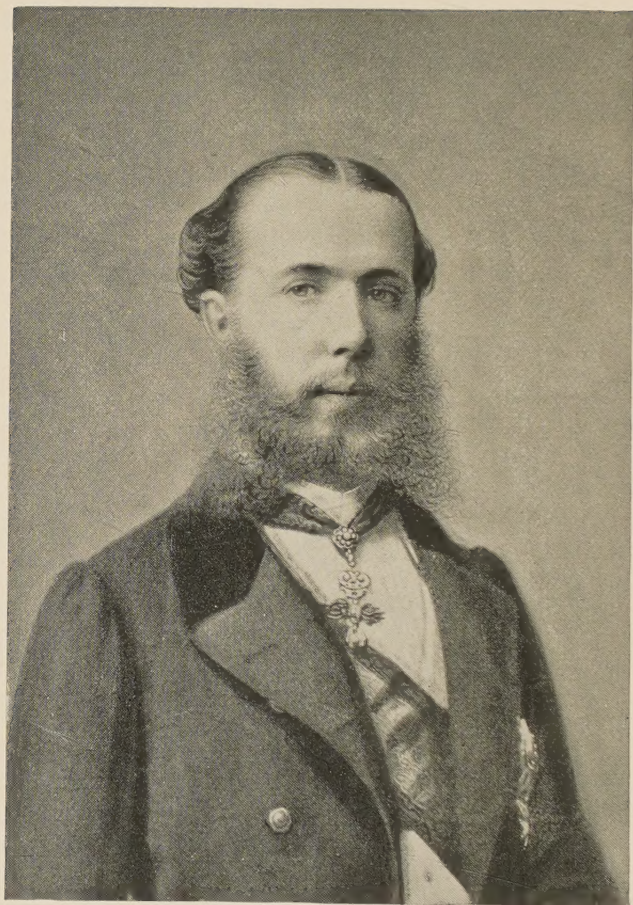




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MAXIMILIAN

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A STORY OF IMPERIALISM

BY

JOHN M. TAYLOR

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G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

NEW YORK

LONDON

25 WEST TWENTY-NINTH STREET

25 BEDFORD STREET, STRAND

The Hutchinson Press

1894

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BY

JOHN M. TAYLOR

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“O the Adriatic’s tone sinks to sad, regretful moan,
When Sirocco blows at even, when the nightingale doth call ;
And the spirits of the deep seem with mourning chant to keep
Vigil round thy vine-enshrouded, memory-haunted palace-wall,
Miramar !”

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MAXIMILIAN AND CARLOTTA



CARLOTTA

MAXIMILIAN AND CARLOTTA:

A STORY OF IMPERIALISM.

"I have carved you an empire out of a block of silver."

NAPOLÉON TO MAXIMILIAN, Paris, 1863.

"You have placed me between dishonor and death, and my choice is made."

MAXIMILIAN TO BAZAINE, Mexico, 1866.

CHAPTER I.

The London meeting—The three powers—The envoys: Russell, Isturiz, Flahault—European sentiment—The Queen's proclamation—Neutrality—The Czar's message—Prussia—Austria—Louis Napoleon—"Vagaries of inheritance"—Italy—Rome—Spanish ambition—Causes of the intervention—Convention articles.

THERE was a notable meeting held in London on the last day of October, eighteen hundred and sixty-one. Three men, masters in the arts of diplomacy and statesmanship, met there, at the instance of three of the great powers of Europe, and entered into an agreement under the law of nations, which was formally ratified

some days later, and became known to history as the Mexican Convention. England, Spain, and France were the high contracting parties to the compact,—a just and lawful one as written upon the face of the convention articles, but in truth one of the acts in the historic drama of French imperialism, and charged in its tragic end with disappointment and chagrin to the courts of Rome, Madrid, and St. James, and with humiliation and sorrow to the courts of Brussels, the Tuileries, and Vienna.

The English envoy was Her Majesty's then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, afterwards Prime Minister and Earl,—Lord Russell,—a stalwart figure in the ranks of Whigs, or Liberals, for sixty years ; with Grey or Althorpe, Peel or Palmerston, Melbourne or Lyndhurst, Bright or Forster, Beaconsfield or Gladstone, as friend or foe in the battles of reform.

In one of the most critical periods through which the British monarchy has passed—the agitation of 1831 and '32—the man of the crisis, the man who lifted the great middle classes of his countrymen toward the light of true civil liberty ; who broke the bonds of custom and precedent, and ridiculed the ancient forms of the aristocracy ; who, in all his early and middle

life, was the advocate and champion of real reforms ; and who, within his party lines, by education and experience, should have been the friend of America, and her government of the people, was Russell.

And still, he gave greater cause of offence, in the civil war, than the worst of her Tory enemies. It was he who declared, in the House of Commons, in May, 1861, that after consulting the law-officers of the Crown the Government were of the opinion that the Southern Confederacy must be recognized as a belligerent power. It was his hand that penned the arrogant demand for the surrender of Mason and Slidell ; and it was his voice, in the great debate on the confirmation of the Washington Treaty, that charged us at the bar of the House of Lords with the presentation of "audacious," "mendacious," "disgraceful," and "impudent" claims for the depredations of the *Alabama* and other rebel cruisers. The trembling figure of the irate statesman recalls Sydney Smith's famous criticism : "There is not a better man in England than Lord John Russell ; but his worst feature is that he is utterly ignorant of all moral fear : there is nothing he would not undertake. I believe

he would perform the operation for the stone, build St. Peter's, or assume (with or without ten minutes' notice) the command of the Channel fleet, and no one would discover by his manner that the patient had died, the church tumbled down, and the Channel fleet been knocked to atoms."

The Queen of Spain named as her commissioner at that meeting her ambassador at the English Court, the loyal Isturiz, trained in statecraft and intrigue, and swift to serve alike the command of his royal mistress and the ambition of his fair and famous countrywoman, the Empress of the French, whose voice was then potent in affairs of state, as she halted for a time in the rôles of politician and diplomatist, between her two great characters of the woman of fashion and the devotee—the one the fruitage of opportunity and desire, the other of sorrows that move all hearts to tears.

Louis Napoleon chose for his representative the veteran diplomat and soldier, Flahault. He was a Frenchman of the French ; at fifteen a volunteer in Italy with the First Consul, and an officer of brilliant record in that campaign ; at twenty-eight, a general of division in the

battle of the nations at Leipsic ; in "the hundred days," a peer of France, and true to the fortunes of his great chief ; a son of imperialism as aid-de-camp or ambassador, as senator, or chancellor of the legion of honor ; in war, in peace, and in exile, under the First and Second Empire, under the sun of Austerlitz or Waterloo, of Solferino or Sedan.

These were the men of distinction and of aristocratic traditions who met in London to arrange the terms of intervention in the affairs of our sister republic at the South—a matter of deeper moment at that time than the act of any power of Europe from the day of Sumter to the day of Appomattox. To them, the whir of cotton looms in the mills of Lancashire, the glory of sovereignty, the charm of adventure in a conquered land, and the restoration of an ancient colony to the imperial domain, were more welcome than the bugle calls to rallying battalions, or the echoing footsteps of the hosts hastening to the rescue of the Union in the morning of her great struggle for national existence.

When the alliance was made, all Europe was at peace. The call to arms in '61 opened a new and serious problem in statesmanship

to the imperial cabinets; and it is only as history defines the attitude of the great powers toward our government, that one can command a true knowledge of the Franco-Mexican intervention.

England and France withheld all assurances of sympathy or friendship for the Northern States. In the proclamation of May 13, 1861, the Queen declared the United Kingdom at peace with all sovereigns, powers, and states; her regret that hostilities had commenced between the United States of America and certain States styling themselves the Confederate States; her royal determination to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality in the contest between the contending parties; and her will warning all her loving subjects from enlisting in the land or naval service of the Federals or Confederates, supplying munitions of war, equipping vessels for privateering purposes, engaging in transport service, or doing any other act calculated to afford assistance to either belligerent.

Neutrality is a pleasing and gracious word; but it stands to-day among the unsettled definitions of the publicists; and, in the presence of the civil war, its interpretation was of

vital consequence in our relations to foreign powers. In the Queen's proclamation it was the challenge, not of the English people, but of the ministry and aristocracy, who were in haste to greet both North and South as simple belligerents, and tender to each the same diplomatic consideration.

The sounds of war had not been heard in the homes of England for many years; but the sacrifices at Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore, on the plateau of Inkerman, in the valley at Balaclava, in the trenches before Sebastopol, and in the hospitals at Scutari, had not been forgotten by her people. England was wedded to the arts of peace, and her commercial supremacy at home and abroad was of more importance in the ministerial mind than the survival of republicanism in its last foothold on the globe; and, so believing, the mother-country turned aside from the warnings and appeals of Bright and Cobden, Motley and Forster and Lyons, and followed the lead of the conservatives in Parliament, to the neutral declaration under the articles of the Congress of Paris, to which the United States refused assent in 1856. The royal proclamation at once imposed upon this

Government the tremendous task of effectively blockading its entire sea-coast from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Cotton was king with the Palmerston Ministry, and neutrality its watchword.

At this distance, however, from those days of alarm and bitterness, it is possible to look at their history in a quiet spirit, and to judge men and their opinions in a clearer light. Says one of the English historians :

“ It is certain that the proclamation was made from no unfriendly motive. If such a proclamation had not been issued, the English government could not have undertaken to recognize the blockade of the Southern ports. International law upon the subject is quite clear. A state cannot blockade its own ports. It can only blockade the ports of an enemy. It can, indeed, order a closure of its own ports ; and a closure of the ports would not have been so effective, for the purposes of the Federal government, as a blockade. It would have been a matter of municipal law only. An offender against the ordinance of closure could be only dealt with lawfully in American waters : an offender against the decree of blockade could be pursued into the open sea. In any case, Mr. Lincoln's government chose the blockade ; and as the proclamation of a blockade compelled the Federal government to treat privateers as belligerents, it could not but compel foreign states to admit the belligerent rights of the Southern confedera-

tion. In England, the friends of the North,—or some of them, at least,—were anxious that the recognition should take place as quickly as possible, that effect should be given to the President's proclamation. The English government had trouble enough afterwards to resist the importunity of those at home and abroad who thought they ought to break the blockade in the interests of European trade. They could have no excuse for recognizing it, if they did not also recognize that there was a war going on which warranted it. Therefore, whether the recognition of the Southern Confederates as belligerents was wise or unwise, timely or premature, it was not done in any spirit of unfriendliness to the North, or at the spiriting of any Southern partisans."

But in his *Twenty Years of Congress*, Mr. Blaine challenges this liberal interpretation of English sentiment and action, and defines what he believes to have been the real attitude of the English government and people toward us in the civil war, with the written and unwritten history of the time at his command. This is his judgment as an historian :

"In the House of Commons the government of the United States had sympathizing friends, eloquent defenders, though few in number. Bright, Forster, Cobden, and men of that class, spoke brave words in defence of the cause for which brave deeds were done by their kindred on this side of the Atlantic—a kindred always more eager to cherish gratitude than to nurture revenge.

“ But from the government of England, terming itself Liberal, with Lord Palmerston at its head, Earl Russell as Foreign Secretary, Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Duke of Argyll as Lord Privy Seal, and Earl Granville as Lord President of the Council, not one friendly word was sent across the Atlantic.

“ The conduct of the Tories was not, however, a surprise to the American people. When the first shadow of real danger to the Union appeared in 1860-1, there was instinctive gladness among loyal Americans that a Liberal Ministry was in power in England, composed of men who would in no event permit their government to be used in aid of a rebellion whose first object was the destruction of a kindred nation, and whose subsequent policy looked to the perpetuation of human slavery. But the hope proved to be only the delusion of a day. Americans found the Palmerston Ministry in a hostile mood and ready to embarrass the Government of the Union by every course that might be taken with safety to the interests of England ; and they at once recognized a vast increase of the force against which they must contend.

“ The only friends of the United States in England at that trying period were to be found among the middle classes, as they were termed, and among the laboring men. The nobility and gentry, the bankers, the great merchants, the ship-builders, were in the main hostile to the Union, —wishing and waiting for the success of the Confederacy. The honorable exceptions to this general statement were so few in number that they could exert little influence on public opinion, and still less on the course of the Ministry. The philanthropy, the foresight, the insight of the realm were found among the humbler classes. In all parts of

the kingdom the laboring men were on the side of the Union. Though they suffered from a cotton-famine, they knew by intuition that the founding of a slave empire in America would degrade labor everywhere ; they knew that the triumph of the Union signified the equality of human rights and would add to the dignity and reward of labor. It would have been well for England's fame and for her prosperity if the statesmen at Westminster had shared the wisdom and nobler instincts of the operatives of Lancashire."

In sharp contrast to the attitude of the English government came the message of the Czar. The Prime Minister, at his command, said to the authorities at Washington, at the opening of hostilities :

"This Union is not simply, in our eyes, an element essential to the universal political equilibrium : it constitutes besides a nation to which . . . all Russia has pledged the most friendly interests ; for the two countries placed at the extremities of the two worlds, both in the ascending period of their development, appear called to a natural community of interests and of sympathies, of which they have already given mutual proof to each other."

And the Russian ironclads at anchor in New York harbor, in the crucial days of '63, gave notice to all the world, that the message was not one of purely diplomatic courtesy.

Peace reigned at Berlin as it did in London,

when the triple alliance was made, but even then the profound yearning which the German had carried in his heart through so many years, the yearning to be once more a united and great people, was opening toward reality ; and the " Iron Chancellor," the most commanding personality of Europe,—was, in secret, forging the massive thunderbolts of war which crushed the pride and dominion of Hapsburg House in the carnage of Sadowa. How human liberty could exist apart from kingly domination and license, or how it fared in this quarter of the world, were idle questions in the mind of that leader of bold spirit and intense vision, and of a will to fashion a nation to his liking,—the Prime Minister of Prussia. It was his task to make the Confederation of 1815 make way for the Confederation of 1866, and that in turn for the Empire of 1871 ; and neither the people who were on the march toward such a destiny, nor their hero who crushed treaties and laughed at diplomacy and smiled at defeat, could halt, in '61, to ask or discover what interest they had in our national existence.

Austria was on the border-land between ten years of absolutism and her new constitutional

regime ; and it was of too much importance to her to silence the clamors of political agitation at home, and to hold in check the hatred of her battling nationalities, which made her the point of danger in the European equilibrium, to question what the end might be in the contest between the North and South. The Emperor expressed the hope that the rebellion would not succeed ; but, at that time, the "man of destiny," who should make amends to Austria for the sacrifice of Lombardy to her ancient enemy, and offer the golden prize of an empire beyond the seas, to the sorrow of Hapsburg House, had made no sign.

France, in the person of her emperor, followed England's lead. The great Napoleon's nephew and step-grandson ; the studious youth at Augsburg ; the cadet of artillery in the Swiss camp ; the volunteer in Italy against the papal rule ; the exile under Louis Philippe ; the political and economic essayist ; the ridiculous figure, hailed with shouts of laughter in the attempts at Strasburg and Boulogne ; the prisoner at Ham ; the constable in the Chartist riots ; the member from Paris in the republican assembly, which said : " Let him come, and then it will be seen that there is nothing in him " ; the president who

swore to be true to the one indivisible democratic republic ; "the statutory heir of the first French Emperor," as Kinglake names him, had ascended the throne through the storm of revolution ; had been confirmed in his imperial dignity by the popular voice declared in the plebiscite ; and within four years of his accession the Congress of Paris had made him the arbiter of Europe.

To humble Russia, to defeat and plunder Austria, to invade England, to crush Prussia, to establish a new empire in some foreign land, to extend his protectorate as Father of the Church, to rectify her frontiers and make France invincible, were some of the problems—the vagaries of inheritance, as Carlyle calls them—that the traditions of the First Empire and the belief in his own destiny had set for Louis Napoleon.

Already, as his first step to supremacy, had he challenged the power of the Czar in the East ; and, with England and Sardinia and Turkey as allies, had won a sorry satisfaction at the Alma and before Sebastopol, for the horrors at Moscow and the Beresina. Already he had electrified the patriot souls of Italy with his stirring message, that she should be

free from the Ticino to the Adriatic. The campaign across the Alps had been made; Magenta and Solferino had been won; the Austrians were driven into the Quadrilateral; a French fleet appeared before Venice; and all Europe anxiously awaited the next development in this strange war of liberation. But His Majesty, while dazzling the eyes of Cavour and his compatriots with the vision of unity, had in secret cried truce to the enemy, and consummated the treaty which brave old Kossuth, in his *Memories of My Exile*, brands "the catastrophe of Villa Franca," and capped the insult to his ally, Victor Emanuel, in his dispatch: "Peace is concluded between the Emperor of Austria and me." Lombardy to be handed over to Sardinia, and then to Italy, was the present, and Nice and Savoy to France was the ultimate price. But the real purpose of Napoleon was thus satisfied: he had shown himself on the field to be no *dilettante* soldier; his ambition and love for military glory were served; and, like his great prototype, with his dream of Oriental empire, the time was at hand for him to enter upon another purpose of his reign, and undertake some brilliant scheme of foreign conquest and achievement.

The civil war made his opportunity ; and scarcely had the action of England been made known to foreign powers when Louis Napoleon also declared his purpose "to maintain a strict neutrality in the struggle between the Union Government and the States which pretend to form a special confederation." The alleged cause for this generous action, this graceful salute to historic memories, was the peaceful relations existing between France and the United States of America. This was the Emperor's stepping-stone to the London convention in '61, and to his magnanimous offer to act as mediator between the North and South in '63, when there were forty thousand French troops on the soil of Mexico.

The two emperors might declare peace at Zurich to serve the honor of France, the vaulting ambition of Louis Napoleon, or the necessity of Austria ; but the road to peace, after the Italian campaign, lay through Italy's toiling millions with their faces toward the light of a higher freedom. Cavour in the cabinet council was their prophet ; Garibaldi with his volunteers at Palermo, their priest militant ; and Victor Emanuel at Naples with his artillery train, their "uncrowned king." Such men

could be silenced with no royal convenience, no mere victory of diplomacy. The storm which "the silent man of the Tuileries" had invoked could not be stayed. There could be no peace which did not recall that forty thousand Sardinians shared the victories and defeats with Briton, Frenchman, and Turk, on the bleak uplands of the Crimean Chersonese ; which did not consider all that Cavour demanded for his country at the Congress of Paris ; all that the Emperor of the French had promised him before he defied the power of the Austrian ; all that was meant in later years of battle and revolution, and the final union of the states in an "Italy one and indivisible," certified in the election of Victor Emanuel as its ruler, at Turin, in June, '61.

"Italia Una ! Now the war-cry rang
From Alp to Etna : and her dreams were done,
And she herself had wakened into life,
And stood full armed and free ; and all her sons
Knew they were happy to have looked on her,
And felt it beautiful to die for her."

There could come to us, in our extremity, but one message from such a people ; and one of the last requests of their great minister was,

that his countrymen should send an assurance to the Federal government that they could give their sympathies to no movement which tended to perpetuate human slavery.

Even at Rome our righteous cause at first found friends ; for His Holiness, Pius IX., and the gifted Cardinal Antonelli, expressed their hopes for the good fortune of the North : but the vision of a new empire of Catholic allegiance across seas, with the restoration of her confiscated estates and revenues to the Church, had not then risen to charm and delude the statesmen of the Vatican.

Spain halted for a time, in the presence of the golden opportunity our civil war made, to recover, by strategy or force, the gem of her lost colonies. But she recalled that, in answer to her overtures for an intervention in 1860, England exacted the protection of the Protestant faith, and France, not then ready for action, excluded the idea of any recourse to material coercion ; that Mexico, without the absolute domination of the Church, and with any other than a Bourbon prince as ruler, would be a standing menace to the home government ; that the annexation of Cuba, by purchase or conquest, was no novel question in

American politics ; and at last she also made a neutral declaration, which, as one of its earliest results, closed the career of the rebel cruiser *Sumter*.

At this time the balance of power in Europe was maintained by an equipoise of the questions of race and politics, that statesmanship, and diplomacy, and the shock of battle have not solved in a thousand years, and nothing can solve but the kiss of righteousness and peace, through arbitration. There was less of honor won at the siege of Paris than at the Congress of Geneva. And so, with all the powers at peace among themselves, from the necessity or the policy of the hour, and looking on in selfishness or indifference, or with sympathy and supreme interest in the contest, England, Spain, and France made the convention, so charged with danger to this Republic, as she stood amid the gathering shadows of disunion.

What were the causes of the intervention ? The text of the treaty lifts all the open reasons for the interference in Mexican affairs into the clear light of analysis and criticism.

The salient points are these. It is important to note them in their order.

The three powers engaged to make arrangements for dispatching combined naval and military forces sufficient to seize and occupy the several fortresses and military positions on the Mexican coast.

The commanders of the forces were authorized to execute the other operations on the spot most suitable to effect the object of the convention, and specifically to insure the security of foreign residents.

They engaged not to seek for themselves, in the employment of the coercive measures contemplated by the convention, *any acquisition of territory, nor any special advantage, and not to exercise, in the internal affairs of Mexico, any influence of a nature to prejudice the right of the Mexican nation to choose and to constitute freely the form of its government.*

And a commission was established to determine all the questions as to the application or distribution of the sums of money which might be recovered.

It is, however, the fourth article that had special significance for us.

“The high contracting parties desiring, moreover, that the measures which they intend to adopt should not bear an exclusive character, and being aware that the govern-

ment of the United States, on its part, has, like them, claims to enforce upon the Mexican Republic, agree, that immediately after the signature of the present convention, a copy thereof shall be communicated to the government of the United States ; that that government shall be invited to accede to it ; and that, in anticipation of that accession, their respective ministers at Washington shall be at once furnished with full powers for the purpose of concluding and signing, collectively or separately, with the plenipotentiary designated by the President of the United States, a convention identical, save the suppression of the present article, with that which they sign this day. But, as by delaying to put into execution Articles I. and II. of the present convention, the high contracting parties would incur a risk of failing in the object which they desire to attain, they have agreed not to defer, with the view of obtaining the accession of the government of the United States, the commencement of the above-mentioned operation beyond the time at which their combined forces can be assembled in the neighborhood of Vera Cruz."

Such were the declared purposes of the three powers.

CHAPTER II.

Mexico—Romance and superstition—Revolution and anarchy—Population—Whites—Indians, Mestizos—Race characteristics—Mexican leaders—Miramon—Juarez—Mexican government—Broken treaties—Abuse of resident foreigners—Repudiation—Confiscation of funds—Demands for reparation—England—Spain—France—England's hesitation—Motives of intervention—Napoleon's mission—Action of the French government—Minister Bigelow—Mexican sentiment for foreign domination—Estrada—Almonte—Labastida—Empress Eugenie—Diplomacy—Appeal to Napoleon—Actual causes—Attitude of United States—Sumner—Seward, Lincoln—Summary of conditions and events—Secession and loyalty.

ALL our knowledge of Mexico, to a recent date, has come to us tinged with the mellow light of tradition and romance, or the sombre shadows of conquest and revolution. We are charmed with the story of her ancient days, from archeologist and historian, as they evoke from temple, pyramid, or inscription, its mystery, or clothe with fancied life the grotesque statues, and bid them tell the secrets they have held within their chiseled lips while

“ The ages have passed and come with the beat of a
measureless tread,
And piled up their palace domes on the dust of the age-
less dead.”

Through the three centuries of her history under the Spanish royal councils, and the viceroys from Mendoza to O'Donoju, while land and people were the joint possession of priest and king, there runs the red current of cruelty and crime, of countless sacrifices to the imperial Moloch ; and the years of her nominal independence are aglow with the satanic fires of war, anarchy, and misrule. It is a sorry chronicle of superstition and slavery, of race hatred, of decrees and proclamations, of treason and intrigue, of brigandage and assassination, without an historic parallel.

From the revolt against Spanish domination and its triumph in the proclamation of the First Empire in 1822, to 1876,—within fifty-four years,—Mexico had fifty-five presidents, two emperors, and one regency, and at least three hundred pronunciamientos were issued. Three of the great leaders in the war of independence, both of the emperors, and two of the more noted presidents, were shot ; and of the other presidents, nearly all were banished, or

had to flee from the country to escape death or imprisonment.

At the time of the intervention Mexico had a population of about nine millions,—one million whites of European descent, four million native Indians, and the remainder mestizos, blacks, and mulattoes. The Mexicans were of the historic types,—statesmen, patriots, soldiers, priests, planters, adventurers, smugglers, bandits, as necessity or choice directed—proud, vain, and cruel, of fiery temper, lofty conceit of ancestry, and inborn, irrepressible disquiet, and love of intrigue and revolution ; the normal career of the ambitious citizen, civil or military, said the Abbé Domenech, “ being to alternate between success and failure, wealth and poverty, high command and exile, the palace or the mountains, until arrested by the bullet or the sword.” The Indians were of the old Aztec lineage—gentle, patient, ignorant, and poverty-stricken ; emancipated by law, but in fact the victims of a system of peonage that made both their service and their servitude perpetual, until lifted to the promise of liberty and manhood in the brilliant and patriotic administration of Diaz, “ the strong man,” with its achievements of

domestic peace, public credit, commercial development, education, and protection of life and property.

Between these race extremes—the Mexican, with his power in Church and State, his superior wit and finesse, and the native, with his stoicism and rules of caste—were grouped the mixed races, upon whom ignorance and superstition and license had set their seal, but powerful in their uplift toward the civilization of the whites, in their hold upon the economic, social, and political forces of the government, and the signal ability of their leaders. Out of this chaos of humanity the star of empire was to rise.

The central figures in the storm of civil strife, of intrigue and diplomacy, pending our civil war and the French intervention, were Miramon, the standard-bearer of the Church party and policy, and Juarez, the champion of the Liberals, or Republicans. Miramon, the brave young cadet in defense of his country at Chapultepec, the gallant commander in the famous double defense of Puebla, in 1856, the general of the Conservative forces in the "War of Reform," the soldier of fortune, whose official misdeeds compelled all the diplomatic

bodies to suspend their relations ; Miramon, the champion of the Church, who supported his administration by plunder, forced loans, and the blessings of the clergy, enjoying at the same time the benefit of their immense temporal possessions, and who, like many of his predecessors, had to make swift choice between execution and exile, and fled to Europe to become one of the zealous advocates of foreign intervention, and to return in the closing days of the empire to serve upon the staff of Maximilian, and die at his side at Queretaro.

But the man in Mexico, in 1861, upon whom centred the chances of real civilization and government reform, was the Liberal leader Benito Juarez. Toward him all classes save the Clerical party, were looking for the solution of the problems that forty years of revolution and bloodshed had but made more complex and hopeless. Born in ancient Mitla in 1806, of pure Indian race, as student, instructor in college, advocate, governor, delegate in Congress, Minister of Justice, President of the Supreme Court, and Vice-President of the Republic, and in the high honor of its Presidency, the masses had come to trust and follow this man of patriotic

service, of genius in state affairs, of stainless honesty. His was the patience that could wait at any sacrifice for justice and right to win; the statesmanship to foresee and master events; the courage to enforce his political policy, and to endure all until public opinion ratified his action.

Three years before the London convention, Juarez was declared President at Vera Cruz, under the new Constitution, and formally recognized by the United States, but it was only after three years of conflict—the civil war—in January, 1861, that he entered the capital, and the allies found him at the head of the Government when they landed in Mexico. It will measure the range of his brief service, and his own power, to recall that in the few months of his administration marriage was made a civil contract, celibacy was abolished, ecclesiastical tribunals, that were mockeries of justice, were suppressed, Church property of more than \$375,000,000 in value held in mortmain by the clergy with a revenue of twenty millions of dollars, and one-third of the soil, were confiscated for the public use and benefit, and the final separation of Church and State was decreed.

For the first time since its independence, Mexico was promised a government of power, of justice, of domestic peace,—the work of a man capable of devising and enforcing reforms which should command the support of a popular majority, and hold in check, by force if necessary, the dissensions and revolutions of embittered factions.

But time was vital to the development of his great purposes ; and when the alliance was made, no account was taken of all that this man of the people had accomplished. Even to impartial observers abroad, the Mexicans still seemed incapable of self-government. The nations of the world could hold them to no treaties, to no observance of international law, no political or commercial stipulations or contracts. Diplomacy and statesmanship had proved powerless to change the condition of affairs, the resident subjects of foreign governments were forced to serve in the army ; they were robbed, imprisoned, and murdered, and their properties confiscated ; the ambassadors at the capital were insulted, and driven from their posts, and some of the foreign legation offices were openly plundered.

But the cardinal reason for the intervention,

so far as the articles of the London treaty in terms disclosed, was the potent one of money—the solemn promises of a nation gone to protest. In July, 1861, the Congress of Mexico, chosen from the Liberal party, with Juarez as dictator, as a temporary expedient, voted to suspend payment for two years on all debts due to foreigners; and this was done in one of the great crises in affairs when national credit was the national life. At that moment the debts due to England, France, and Spain were more than seventy-five millions of dollars, and if to these be added the domestic obligations, the so-called Peza and Jecker bonds, issued by Miramon and Zuloaga,—and, it is alleged, sold in part to “the brethren of the Tuileries,” at five cents on the dollar,—the obligations the republic then repudiated, or was unable to pay, were about one hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

So long as the questions were simply between Mexicans and resident English, French, or Spanish subjects, their governments could not interfere, but when the Mexicans confiscated the funds deposited in the house of the British legation for safe-keeping, and suspended payment of the percentage of customs pledged

by treaty to the payment of convention debts, then the questions passed into the domain of international law, and the respective governments could enforce their claims at their election. All the creditors were clamorous for their money ; the French minister demanded his papers ; the Spanish minister was dismissed ; the English minister protested against the outrages of the government ; diplomatic relations were suspended, and the powers finally agreed to use force to secure indemnity for loans, protect their resident subjects, and compel payment of the government obligations.

Such, in brief, was the condition of Mexico, and such were the facts that governed the allies, as they are marshalled in the partial history of the time, and as they are recited in the convention itself.

But the agreement involved serious questions. There were men in the English cabinet in 1861 who remembered how the government was outwitted in the diplomacy that allied England with France in the invasion of the Crimea. And when the Emperor of the French made overtures to join in the Mexican expedition, there was grave doubt of his pur-

pose in the ministerial mind. So marked was this fact that England finally refused her assent to the treaty, save upon the incorporation in it of the article that prohibited either party to seek "any acquisition of territory, or any special advantage in the enterprise."

The real motives for the intervention were not disclosed at the London meeting or embodied in the convention articles. They were hidden in the historic policy and ambition of the ruler of the French people. In the search for the actual cause, the advocates and critics stand far apart in their conclusions. One of the defenders of the alliance states Louis Napoleon's purposes to have been :

"To deliver the Mexican people from that condition of anarchy and helplessness under which they had groaned for forty years, deluded by the name of a republic, but which was a republic only in name.

"To offer to the Mexican nation a government whose stability should be guaranteed by the great powers of Europe, and which should secure to the Mexican people as perfect and the same liberty that is enjoyed by the people of England, France, or any other well regulated, constitutional monarchy, and all the other blessings of a good stable government.

"To inaugurate and set on foot measures for the development of its vast and inexhaustible mineral resources

and agricultural wealth ; and to give to Mexico those facilities for transportation in the shape of railroads which would enable her to enjoy her full share of the great carrying trade between Europe and the East Indies."

And this philanthropic work of His Majesty takes on a richer color when seen through eyes dazzled by the glamour of his reign, and recalled in the traditions that centre in the Napoleonic idea of conquest and renown, or in the imperial policy for the aggrandizement, not of France, but of her Second Empire.

Says one of the English apologists :

"The intervention in Mexico is a remarkable episode in the policy of Napoleon III., and, as such, will not fail to attract the regard of future historians. It is a task as novel as it is honorable for a monarch to attempt the regeneration of a country other than his own, to carry civilization and prosperity into a region of the globe where they have fallen into decay, even though he undertook the task primarily with a view to his own interests. To raise a country thrice as large as France from a state of chronic desolation, to pierce it with railways, to reconstruct the old watercourses of irrigation to re-open the rich mines, and to make the waste places blossom with flowers and fruits and useful plants—is certainly a noble design. And still nobler it is to rescue a population of eight millions from anarchy, demoralization, and suffering, and to restore to them, in better fashion than they ever had

before, the protection of the State and the benefactions of the Church."

And another, closer to the truth of history, writes :

"In exile and in prison Louis Napoleon had ample time to meditate on the high mission to which, by a strong and strange presentiment, he felt himself called. He reviewed, as a political philosopher, the requirements of the age ; and thus, when he came to the throne, he brought with him many high designs already formed, which he had resolved to accomplish so far as the opportunities of his career should permit. Among those projects, of material as well as of political interests, stands the intervention in Mexico. . . . The Emperor was desirous of finding some enterprise which should employ his army and engage the attention of his restless and glory-loving subjects until the affairs of Europe should open to him a favorable opportunity for completing his grand scheme of 'rectifying' the frontiers of France. And in this he succeeded. Even though the enterprise was not popular in France, it at least served to attract the thoughts of the French to a foreign topic, and it, moreover, shut the mouths of the war party, and established a solid excuse for the Emperor not engaging in a European conflict until he had got this trans-Atlantic affair off his hands. Those were considerations of present value, which Napoleon was not likely to underestimate, though he could not frankly avow them.

"By his intervention in Mexico Napoleon III. endeavors to arrest the decay of the Romish Church in America,

and to check the continuous spread of the Protestant Anglo-Saxons. The Empire of the Indies, reared by Spain, and so long a bright gem in the tiara of the Popes, has gone to wreck. Brazil, with its enormous territory, but mere handful of people, is the only non-Protestant state in America which is not a prey to anarchy and desolation ; and a few years ago the gradual extension of Anglo-Saxon power over the whole of the New World appeared to be merely a question of time. Seizing a favorable opportunity the 'eldest son of the Church' now intervenes to repair the fallen fortunes of the Papacy in Central America, and in so doing to erect a barrier against the tide of Protestantism, and to reflect new lustre upon the Church of which he is the champion, and with whose greatness that of France is indissolubly connected."

It is in such discussions that some of the speculative causes of the triple alliance, not set forth in the convention itself, are reflected. But it is not in the court of his friends that Napoleon and his real designs can be so truly, so justly judged, as in the light which the history of recent years throws upon him and them ; although many important facts and records must remain secrets of the state, until time and government policy warrant their disclosure to student and historian ; and there is a witness to the popular opinion of His Majesty's action at home, whose competency no one

will challenge. In 1863, the French government, by secret orders, licensed the building of four cruisers at Bordeaux and Nantes, on account of the Confederacy ; and when the Minister of Marine ordered a full armament of guns, on the authority of the agent of the Confederate secret service, our Minister to France, in a successful attempt to follow the responsibility of the government itself, consulted the eminent advocate and jurist, Berryer ; and in reporting one of his interviews with him, Mr. Bigelow says :

“ He deplored the Mexican expedition, which he said he could not comprehend ; neither could he comprehend the emperor’s passion for expeditions to the ends of the earth, which were exhausting the energies of France, without giving her wealth or glory. He said he could no longer stand the way things were going on. There was a very large number of would-be Imperialists who were dissatisfied with the Mexican expedition, and who thought just as he did about recognizing the Confederate organization in America, but who, nevertheless, would not vote against the government. Their reason for this refusal was that a defeat of the government would bring on a crisis, ruin the public credit, and then would come all the evils, tried and untried, which usually follow in the train of revolutions in France.

“ When I said that I had lost no opportunity with my government and compatriots to cultivate the friendly

dispositions which I found everywhere among the French people for our republic, he said :

““You are very right to do so ; in this business the people and the government are quite distinct. The French people are indisposed to take any steps unfriendly to the United States. Unfortunately the emperor has one great advantage over us French people. He can pursue his plans steadily, and without being led aside by his self-love ; whereas we French people always make our interests secondary, where our national pride is involved. In that way he is leading us a chase whither nobody seems to know but himself ; and before we are aware of it, or can help ourselves, he may get our vanity on his side.’”

At various periods in the history of Mexico since her independence, it has seemed to some of her wisest politicians and statesmen that the only way to peace and prosperity, in their unfortunate country, was through the rule or protection of some foreign government. Appeals for intervention were made on several occasions to the European powers, and to the United States, without result. The tender of the crown to Ferdinand VII. of Spain, to Don Carlos and Francisco de Paulo, the Bourbon princes, to Archduke Charles of Austria, to the nominee of the Pope, to General Scott as dictator, and finally to a prince of Hapsburg

house, marks the vitality of this sentiment in favor of foreign domination.

At the outbreak of our civil war, and after the confiscation decrees had deprived the conservative party of its power and shattered its hopes of success, a number of clerical exiles and refugees found an asylum and welcome at various European courts. They were among the ablest men of Mexico. Their leader was Almonte, revolutionist, soldier, minister to France, aspirant for the presidency, minister of finance, and finally lieutenant and marshal of the empire under Maximilian. He was welcomed at the court of Napoleon III., and became his confidant and most trusted adviser in Mexican affairs. It cannot be denied that his motives were in great degree personal, and that he hoped, through the intervention of France, to reach the prize he had twice failed to secure, and convert the republic into an empire, as Iturbide had done. But he made his appeal from considerations of justice to France, payment of her obligations, and the protection of her citizens on Mexican soil. He pictured in glowing colors the marvellous wealth and resources of his country, the evils she had endured, and the honor history would

accord to him who should be her savior and the messenger of civilization and peace.

The persuasions of Almonte were strengthened by a vigorous diplomacy at London, Madrid, and Vienna ; and at Rome the earnest appeals of the Mexican bishop, Labastida, led the Pope to inspire the Empress of the French with zeal for the intervention ; and she urged the duty and the glory of the new crusade to restore to the Latin race its supremacy in the New World, and to recover for the Church its royal estates and revenues, and to stop the onward march of the Saxon as Charles Martel stayed that of the Saracen. And when the exiles finally told Napoleon of the attempts of some of the leaders of the Southern Confederacy to enter into a grand scheme of political union with the Mexican Liberals, which should result in an empire to encircle the Gulf of Mexico, and so insure the destruction of the Church party, of which the Emperor was the historic defender, and reminded him of the recent suggestion of Spain, that the secession of the South might prove an occasion for reviving past souvenirs and placing upon the throne of Mexico a prince of the Bourbon blood, in his willing mind the problem of a

French protectorate was soon solved. The suspension of the English, Spanish, and French convention debts furnished the pretext ; and the plan which was not discussed at the alliance meeting at London, but which was settled in advance at Paris, was put into operation.

Against the simple propositions of the London treaty, and the specious arguments of its defenders, the real scheme, as history has so far written it, was this :

To consider the refugees (the representatives of the Church party) in Paris as the true representatives of the Mexican nation and promise them protection.

To encourage the Confederates in the United States, with the view of neutralizing the power of the Union, and insuring its destruction.

To crush by military force the republican government of Mexico, and establish an empire in its stead, and to offer its crown to the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, and so checkmate the designs of Spain to recover her lost possessions.

Such was the imperial purpose from the beginning, masked under protestations of justice to France and disclaimers of all ulterior motives, but laid bare in the march of events, the acts and declarations of Napoleon, and in the conduct of his royal *protégé*.

There was one cause for hesitation in the work of the diplomatists in London on that eventful day ; one potent and perplexing factor in the situation ; and that was the attitude the government of the United States might assume towards the proposed intervention.

It was not forgotten that our claims and causes of grievance against Mexico were quite as great and varied as were those of either of the allies, and that we commanded the strategic situation. It was not forgotten that thirty-two million souls answered to our national roll-call in 1860, that our resources were without end, and that already there were marshalled in camp and field six hundred thousand men,—the skirmish lines of a mighty host,—sworn to the defense of the republic. And so, with diplomatic courtesy, the allies tendered an urgent invitation to join their enterprise, in convention Article IV., already recited.

But a master in the precedents and learning of the law of nations sat in the Senate at Washington ; and a master in the arts and scholarship of diplomacy sat in the Cabinet, and there were patriots in Congress yielding to no man in their love of country ; and over all ruled the mighty brain, the exalted spirit of

the man of our time and history : and our answer to the high contracting parties was a straightforward but diplomatic refusal to join in the intervention.

Many have believed that our action was chiefly due to an adherence to the so-called "Monroe Doctrine"—the historical dogma of American politics. But that was not the controlling question in the cabinet of Lincoln. It was no mere tradition of the state, no fine-spun theory of political morals, no mock patriotism that would uphold at any hazard the sentiment "America for Americans," no vain-glorious defiance of European powers within or without the neutral circle that guided the government in its decision. Its refusal was for causes that touched the pulses of the national life. It was the outcome of the "irrepressible conflict." It was a great historical fault for which the nation was to pay a sublime and sorrowful expiation. It was the question whether a state was one of an inseparable union or a sovereignty in itself, and whether human slavery should longer stand in our policy of government by the side of human liberty—a question which abolitionism, and free-soilism, the Missouri compromise and the Dred Scott

decision, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the Fugitive-Slave law had failed to answer.

It was the pitiful prayer of "Uncle Tom" to the pitiless Legree. It was the bludgeon blows of Brooks, of South Carolina, upon the head of Sumner. It was John Brown, the fanatic and fatalist, at bay in the engine-house at Harper's Ferry, going to the scaffold with a smile upon his lips, that treason to the laws of Virginia might be avenged, and the epitaph of American slavery be written. It was the cannon-shot from Moultrie that stayed the *Star of the West* on her errand of mercy. It was the Confederate States of America, taken out of the old Union by the conspirators of the South, and sworn to be an empire of themselves, and to leave the Federal compact under the arch of peace if they could, through the gateway of war if they must. It was the glowing camp-fires of the Confederate armies, lighting the boundaries of eleven States that had followed South Carolina in her ordinance of Secession. It was Lincoln, the stalwart figure, by the flag in the contest of 1860; the prophet of the people, uttering in the gloom of his inauguration alike his prayer and warning, that "the central idea of Secession is the essence of anarchy."

“The great deep soul that was a home for all,
Just, eloquent, and strong,
In protest against wrong,
Wide charity that knew no sin, no fall.

“Teaching us how to seek the highest goal,
To earn the true success,
To live, to love, to bless,
And make death proud to take a royal soul.”

It was Anderson and his men, seen through the smoke of Sumter, calling a nation to their support. It was the volleys of the Sixth Massachusetts in the streets of Baltimore. It was young Ellsworth, dying at Alexandria, while pulling down the emblem of treason. It was Winthrop, falling in the front at Big Bethel, while his glittering blade beckoned his men to the charge. It was the sacrifice at Manassas, when victory was turned into defeat, that roused the nation from its “sweet dream of peace.” It was the great soldier of organization, McClellan, forging, on the heights of the Potomac, the massive weapons with which four years later the great soldier of execution, Grant, crushed the rebellion in the Wilderness. It was Lyon, slain in the terrific cross-fire at Wilson’s Creek, after saving Missouri to the Union. It was Baker, the orator of the

Senate, dying at Ball's Bluff while rallying his men to check the charge, that turned the Union defeat into a massacre. It was the voice of a liberty-loving people in arms to save the republic, and borne to the starry heavens in its magnificent "Battle Hymn," whose refrain echoes the tread of armies and the melodies of peace :

"He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call
retreat ;

He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment-
seat :

Oh, be swift my soul to answer him, be jubilant my
feet,

Our God goes marching on."

CHAPTER III.

Arrival at Vera Cruz—The allies' proclamation—Military occupation—French claims—Protest of England and Spain—Negotiations with Liberal government—Almonte—Mexican exiles—Treaty with Mexico—England and Spain withdraw from alliance—France declares war—Commissioners' proclamation—Lorenz—Conflict at Puebla—French defeat—Reinforcements—Forey—Napoleon's instructions—Siege of Puebla—Forey enters the capital—Napoleon's designs—Bigelow's opinion—The Regency—Almonte, Salas, Ormachea—The Assembly of Notables—Its decree for monarchy—Napoleon's nomination—The Austrian Archduke, for emperor.

THE allies were prompt in the execution of their plans. It seemed an easy task, in a land rent with revolution, for the powers to carry out the declaration of the convention, and "seize and occupy the several fortresses and military positions on the Mexican coast." This was quickly done. It was agreed that the French and Spanish squadrons were to meet at Havana, and join the English fleet at Cape St. Antonio, and make a combined descent upon the coast. England carried her doubts of the Emperor's designs and their effect in

the first instance into the expedition itself, and sent out, under Milne as admiral, a holiday-review force of one line-of-battle ship and two frigates with seven hundred marines. The Spanish fleet carried six thousand men, under Prim as admiral and commander—Prim, afterwards President of the Council, Minister of War, and Commander-in-Chief, who stood fast by the line and precept of the convention articles, and refused compliance with Napoleon's schemes when he discovered them, as became the man who, later, with Serrano, drove Isabella, the dissolute, from the throne, and sacrificed his titles and powers, that at last, through exile and assassination, he might turn the eyes of his countrymen to the heights of a wider liberty, soon to be made radiant with the genius of Castelar.

The demands of England could be satisfied in money ; and a like consideration would serve the present interests of Spain. The English and Spanish forces were deemed sufficient to enforce the treaty provisions ; but the Emperor of the French made preparation in the beginning for his ultimate purpose, and dispatched to join the allied fleet two thousand five hundred men,—veterans from many fields,

men of all arms, including the Egyptian Legion of Zouaves, Turcos, Nubians, and Chasseurs d'Afrique. To this detachment he added three thousand more troops so soon as he learned that the Spanish force was six thousand men, on the ground that the French contingent should not be inferior in numbers.

There was some misunderstanding about the orders, and the Spaniards did not wait for the English and French off Cuba. They sailed over to the "Rich City of the Holy True Cross" in December, 1861, and soon had it in their possession. The English were displeased because of the reinforcement sent from France, with no necessity in sight; and the French were chagrined because the Spaniards alone had captured Vera Cruz. Distrust arose, and the powers began to watch each other's actions, for some hidden object to reveal itself. They had not long to wait. All that was contemplated by a strict or lawful interpretation of the convention had been done. The allies had seized and occupied the coast; they held the chief seaport; they had insured the security of their resident subjects, at least within range of their guns; and it became necessary to retire with these profitless honors, or to

take measures not anticipated by some of the parties.

The situation was embarrassing, and involved serious questions. Article III. of the convention provided for a commission to distribute any funds that might be collected by way of indemnity; and the English and Spanish commissioners proposed, at this juncture, that the powers should call upon Mexico to pay or guarantee all fair claims to be certified by commissioners, and to make reparation for outrages. And, as a moral support to their demands for money, they adopted a device with which every Mexican who could read was certainly familiar. They issued a grandiloquent proclamation. This was their message to the Mexicans, with ships of war, and troops, and fortified camps in sight, and foreign flags flying in their chief port of entry :

“Listen to the voice of the allies, the anchor of salvation in the dreadful tempest before which you are being driven. Intrust yourselves, with the greatest confidence, to their good faith and upright intentions. Fear nothing on account of the unquiet and restless spirits, who, should they present themselves, your determined and decided uprightness would know how to confound, while we lookers-on preside at the grand spectacle of your regeneration, guaranteed by order and liberty.”

There was no answer to this seductive call to peace, save the sounds of preparations to resist the army of invasion. It was soon found that some of the Mexicans were quite as much in earnest as the allies.

In advance of this proclamation, and in response to the suggestion of England and Spain for a money equivalent and guaranty, the French demanded payment of fifteen million dollars in bonds negotiated by the government of Miramon with the Swiss banking firm, under French protection, at five per cent. on a dollar; and to this sum they added twelve millions more, which they intimated was about the total of what was due them, without going into items; and the French Commissioner, Saligny, said "it would save great inconvenience and much valuable time to take that amount, and call it square." The English and Spanish were vexed with this absurd demand; claimed it would lead to war, as no nation could be expected to accede to it; and they refused to sanction it.

But more serious differences arose. A knot of the exiles, with Almonte at their head (who assumed the title of provisional president of Mexico, and opened negotiations with Mar-

quez, who was then in arms against Juarez), and some of the vilest ruffians of the civil war, had their headquarters in the French camp, and, under French protection, were issuing proclamations to their countrymen to overthrow the Liberal government, and boasting that their actions had the Emperor's approval. When it became evident that the adventurers and revolutionists who had been banished from the country for various causes, or were openly inciting treason, were welcomed and protected by the French arms, it began to dawn upon the Mexicans that the allies had some purpose to serve, other than what they professed ; and their protestations that they did not intend to interfere in their affairs became ridiculous. All the assurances of the English and Spanish were set at naught by the conduct of the French. Sir Charles Wyke and General Prim protested against their claims, but without effect. The issue had come. It was peace or war, and war one of the parties was determined to have at any cost.

The diplomacy at Paris had again overreached the diplomacy at London and Madrid ; and England and Spain had served as the tools of Napoleon to give the expedition char-

acter, and vantage-ground for his real designs, and without the sagacity to perceive it. They were sincere in their adhesion to the treaty. They had come to Mexico to collect their debts and protect their resident subjects. It was evident that all differences must be settled or the invasion abandoned. It became necessary to negotiate : and, through the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, Doblado,—invested with extraordinary powers by President Juarez,—a conference was held at Soledad, February 19, 1862 ; and it was agreed that a later meeting should be held at Orizaba ; the French plenipotentiary, even at that late day, protesting, in His Majesty's behalf, that he had no intention of injuring the sovereignty and integrity of the republic, and stipulating that recourse should be had to a treaty to present all the reclamations he was charged to make in the name of France.

In the meantime, owing to the heavy mortality among the foreign troops, it was agreed, on the part of the allies, by General Prim, that they should be permitted to occupy more healthful localities, to be abandoned if the later negotiations should fail ; and that the Liberal government should be recognized. The French

refused their assent to these stipulations, despite their engagement ; declared their belief that there was no honest intention to satisfy their grievances ; and their commissioner, Count de Saligny, who was advised that the moment had come to unmask the scheme secretly planned at Paris before the meeting in London, notified the conference that orders would speedily issue for the French army to march on the capital. The English and Spanish protested against this open violation of the convention, and finally declared for peace, and made a treaty that led to an immediate evacuation of their forces, with nothing to pay even the cost of the expedition. And so the triple alliance ended ; and Louis Napoleon was left to carry on his hazardous experiment of conquest and glory, alone.

War was immediately declared against the constitutional government, and orders issued for the advance of the French troops. Said the commissioners, still trusting to the virtue of the proclamation, but with singular contradiction of sentiment :

“ Mexicans, we have not come here to take a part in your divisions ; we have come to terminate them. We invite all good and true men to co-operate in the consoli-

dation of order, to the regeneration of your beautiful country. We desire equal justice for all, and that that justice may not have to be enforced by our arms. The Mexican people ought of themselves to be the primary agents of emancipation. We have no other object than to inspire the honest and peaceful portion of the country, that is to say nine-tenths of the population, with courage to make known their wishes. If the Mexican nation remains inert, if she will not comprehend that we offer her an unhopèd-for opportunity to escape from ruin, if she does not by her own efforts give a direction and a practical and moral significance to our support, it is evident that we shall only have to attend to the precise interests for which the Convention of London was ratified. . . . The flag of France has been planted on Mexican soil ; that flag will never recede. Let wise men welcome it as a friendly standard. Let the foolhardy dare to fight against it."

The clerical exiles, the volunteers from the forces of the Conservatives, and the deserters from the Liberals, had assured the French leaders that the conquest of the country would be easy, and that the Mexicans themselves would rally in large numbers to the standards of "the army of occupation." Its commander was Lorencez, who won his rank of major-general at the storming of the Malakoff,—a brave and honest soldier, attached to the fortunes of Napoleon by brilliant service and reward ; who would not hesitate to serve his imperial

will, although he saw in the outset the mistake of the intervention, and predicted a disastrous result.

The old Spanish town of Puebla, with its approaches admirably adapted for defense, is the great strategic point that commands the road from Vera Cruz to Mexico; and it was there, in May, 1862, that the first battle was fought. The Mexicans under the gallant Zaragoza, defeated the veterans from the French campaigns, with a terrible loss of twelve hundred killed, and thrice that number wounded and missing; and the magnitude of the task they had undertaken became evident to the French commanders.

In view of the generous welcome which Almonte and his clique had convinced the French awaited their advance, Lorencez must be credited with extreme moderation, when he said in his address to his beaten army: "*Soldiers, your march on Mexico has been arrested by material obstacles which you had no reason to expect*"; and in his report to the government at Paris:

"Such was my situation before Puebla, the town most hostile to Juarez, according to persons in whose opinions I considered myself bound to trust, and who formally

assured me, according to information which they were in a position to obtain, that I should be received there with transport, and that my soldiers should enter the town covered with flowers."

The invaders learned, in their first encounter, the worthlessness of Mexican protestations, and the virtue of Mexican patriotism. Zaragoza was quite as much in earnest as Lorencez.

To a people proud of military glory, to a ruler with whom success was a necessity, and whose avowed mission was "the triumph of the Latin race on American soil," the tidings of disaster at Puebla were most unwelcome. But the fact of failure was present, and due measures must be taken to meet the situation. Lorencez fortified his position at Orizaba, and reported the need of reinforcements. Troops of all arms were sent over, until the forces in Mexico numbered forty thousand men.

General Forey was appointed commander-in-chief. Forey was the Emperor's right hand in his perilous passage from the presidency of the republic to the throne, at the *coup d'état*. He succeeded St. Arnaud as commander before Sebastopol, and held the high ranks of senator of the empire, and grand officer of the

Legion of Honor. There was one distinction he had not won ; and although, like Lorencez, he had no faith in the intervention, and advised sending a sufficient force in the beginning, and stated from his place in the Senate, after his return in 1866, that it would require an additional army of one hundred and fifty thousand men to conquer Mexico ; still, at the time of his appointment, he silenced his convictions for the glittering prize the Emperor held out for his service,—a marshalship of France.

Forey landed at Vera Cruz in August, 1862, to renew the attempt abandoned in the engagement at Puebla. He at once deprived Almonte of the provisional presidency which he had assumed at Vera Cruz, and appropriated to himself the civil and military power, and set aside with disdain the formal protests of the Mexican Congress. Under orders from Napoleon, before entering upon the serious work of his campaign, he also made a proclamation. In substance, he told the Mexicans that he had come among them simply to restore order, and not to dictate a form of government. In doing this, Forey took the Emperor at his word, as he fondly imagined,

and a demonstration of the real purpose, and of the falsity of the Emperor's pretences, is given in his personal instructions to the man who was to carry them into effect. In his letter to Forey, *July 3, 1862*, he said :

“ MY DEAR GENERAL :—At the moment when you are about to leave for Mexico, charged with political and military powers, I deem it useful that you should understand my wishes.

“ This is the line of conduct which you are expected to pursue :

“ 1. To issue a proclamation on your arrival, the principal ideas of which will be indicated to you.

“ 2. To receive with the greatest kindness all Mexicans who may join you.

“ 3. To espouse the quarrel of no party, but to announce that all is provisional until the Mexican nation shall have declared its wishes ; to show a great respect for religion, but to reassure at the same time the holders of national property.

“ 4. To supply, pay, and arm, according to your ability, the auxiliary Mexican troops ; to give them the chief parts in combats.

“ The end to be attained is not to impose upon the Mexicans a form of government which will be distasteful to them, but to aid them to establish, in conformity with their wishes, a government which may have some chance of stability, and will assure to France the redress of the wrongs of which she complains.

“ It is not to be denied that if they prefer a monarchy, it is in the interest of France to aid them in this path.

“Persons will not be wanting who will ask you why we propose to spend men and money to establish a regular government in Mexico.

“In the present state of the world’s civilization, Europe is not indifferent to the prosperity of America ; for it is she who nourishes our industry and gives life to our commerce. It is our interest that the republic of the United States shall be powerful and prosperous ; but it is not at all to our interest that she should grasp the whole Gulf of Mexico, rule thence the Antilles as well as South America, and be the sole dispenser of the products of the New World. We see to-day, by sad experience, how precarious is the fate of an industry which is forced to seek its raw material in a single market, under all the vicissitudes to which that market is subject.

“If, on the contrary, Mexico preserve its independence, and maintain the integrity of its territory, if a stable government be there established with the aid of France, we shall have restored to the Latin race on the other side of the ocean its force and its prestige ; we shall have guaranteed the safety of our own and the Spanish colonies in the Antilles. We shall have established our benign influence in the centre of America ; and this influence, while creating immense outlets for our commerce, will procure the raw material which is indispensable to our industry.

“To-day, therefore, our military honor involved, the demands of our policy, the interest of our industry and our commerce, all impose upon us the duty of marching upon Mexico, there boldly planting our flag, and establishing perhaps a monarchy, if not incompatible with the national sentiment of the country, but at least a government which will promise some stability.”

Forey's announcement called down from His Majesty a severe reprimand, and the threat of an immediate recall if he undertook to carry out his promises. He had followed his letter of instructions literally, and with strict honesty; but he did not apprehend the double sense of the "principal ideas" which were to be communicated to him, and his action was in part contrary to the Emperor's designs.

The royal rebuke served its purpose, and the obedient soldier at once addressed himself to the accomplishment of the Napoleonic mission. While patriot hearts at the North were sorrowing at the tidings from Chancellorsville, the French and the Mexicans again struggled for the mastery at Puebla. The assault was desperate, the resistance heroic. The Mexicans fought the advance inch by inch; they barricaded the streets, and covered the ground with their dead; they turned their houses into forts, and, defying all calls to surrender, blew them up and perished in the ruins. But Forey halted at no resistance, was dismayed at no carnage or sacrifice; and the reward of his bravery and persistence was the final capture of the gateway to Mexico, the surrender of the only point where a successful defense could be made against "the column of invasion."

Two years to a day from the Emperor's declaration of neutrality, June 10, 1861, his army with the Austrian and Belgian contingents and a motley host of foreign and native volunteers, ruffians, and adventurers, entered the ancient city, with Bazaine, the hero of Gravelotte and the traitor of Metz, at the head, as commander under Forey. The Liberal government had fled, in the presence of a force its armies could not withstand, but always to retain a foothold, in victory or defeat, and at last to light again the fires of patriotism in the ancient land, and mark the first step in the weary marches of the two emperors towards Queretaro and Sedan.

Napoleon believed in the final victory and independence of the South ; and it is now known that, from the day France followed England with a neutral declaration, to the day of Lee's surrender, he was ready and anxious to recognize the Confederacy, and only waited for it to show strength enough, or the Union weakness enough, to formally declare his purpose. As Bigelow puts it in his *France and the Confederate Navy* :

“ Happily, the Confederate victories and Union defeats did not come ; the arm was palsied which was to wield the blade the Emperor had been tempering for it ; and

he found it necessary to desert the Confederates, or find himself occupying a hostile attitude towards a nation once more at peace within its own borders, and with a million of veteran soldiers at its disposal. It required no prophet to inform him that to allow such a crisis to mature would bankrupt his government and cost him his crown, and probably his life. His course towards us, from the beginning to the end of this plot, was deliberately and systematically treacherous, and his ministers allowed themselves to be made his pliant instruments."

At this time, however, there were special reasons for his confidence that the Confederate States might become an independent sovereignty, and serve as a neighbor and ally in his scheme of empire. "Stonewall" Jackson had rolled up Hooker's right wing at Chancellorsville, in May, 1863; and that magnificent army, with victory in sight, had been driven across the Rappahannock. On the day Forey entered the City of Mexico in triumph, with forty thousand men in his command, and the government of Juarez had been apparently swept away by the defeats of the Liberals, Lee was massing at Culpepper the mighty column of invasion which should win on Northern soil the independence of the South, in one last great struggle; but the column broke on Round Top and Culps Hill, the Peach Orchard and the Bloody

Angle, and the light of rebellion faded there as the summer sunset fell upon the faces of Pickett's shattered division. But to the Emperor's eyes the flutter of the flags of the "Army of Northern Virginia" on the hill-tops and in the quiet summer fields of Pennsylvania, were sure tokens of conquest and occupation; and he set his face toward the vision of a new empire in the West, the work of his own hands, a shining page in the history of French imperialism.

But each step must be one of diplomacy, of nominal observance of the convention articles, and of His Majesty's own professions to this time. The allies had agreed not to exercise in Mexican affairs any influence to prejudice the right of the Mexican nation to choose and constitute freely the form of its government; and the Emperor, in his instructions to Lorenz and Forey, had said that the end to be attained was not to impose upon the Mexicans a form of distasteful government, but to aid them to establish, in conformity with their wishes, a government with some chance of stability, and which could assure to France the redress of wrongs of which she complained, but by preference a monarchy, if it should

prove to her interest. And that was an easy problem for the mind that organized and carried to success the *coup d'état*, and exploited that facile but unfailing mode of expressing the popular will in France,—the plebiscite,—which declared the special constable in the London Chartist riots of 1848, the Emperor of the French in 1852.

It was straightway determined in the councils of the French leaders, that the true way for the Mexicans “to freely choose their form of government” was through representatives selected by the French authorities; and, in obedience to the Emperor’s direction, the choice was made in the following manner: On the 16th of June, 1863, General Forey, after consultation with the French minister resident in Mexico, called together some of the most eminent citizens, and deliberated with them in regard to the state of the country. It was agreed that they should nominate two hundred and fifteen men of distinction from the various states, constituting, with themselves, an Assembly of Notables, to whom should be intrusted the duty of determining upon the form of government to be adopted. The supreme executive power was temporarily vested

in three citizens,—Almonte, who had secretly arranged with Napoleon as to his tactics in establishing a monarchy; Salas, and Ormachea. This Franco-Mexican regency issued a manifesto to the nation, of which these are the significant declarations :

“ A disciplined and courageous army, a great and civilized power, have undertaken to save us from the unfathomable abyss of evils to which, as blindly as impiously, a misled minority of our countrymen have brought us. They labor for our national restoration, not by the terror of arms, nor by anti-social principles. . . .

“ Driving from the capital the power which the pretended constitution of 1857 systematized in evil, by evil, and for evil, the representatives of the Emperor have made no delay in establishing the provisional Mexican government, which will govern until the nation, more amply represented, shall fix freely and definitely the form of government which Mexicans ought to have permanently. . . .

“ The Catholic religion is re-established and free. The Church will exercise its authority without having an enemy in the government, and the State will concert with it the manner of resolving the grave questions which are pendent.

“ We have still to get rid of the so-called constitutional government, which is only able and only knows to do evil, which courts no good in its career of innovations and destruction. Whilst it exists, we Mexicans shall

have no peace, nor our fortunes security, nor commerce increase. The Franco-Mexican army will, as the first act they perform, pursue it until it surrenders or is driven from the national territory ; and in proportion as the towns shake off their intolerable yoke, they will begin to feel the repose and prosperity which the people already liberated enjoy.

“ Good and dignified relations will be opened again with injured governments and with the Sovereign Pontiff ; every effort will be made to ratify the obligations of Mexico with friendly powers ; and, with the protection of France and the other nations that shall support the new government, we shall be respected abroad, and the honor and credit of the nation will be repaired.”

To this call the delegates responded ; and in their meeting at the capital they declared themselves the Assembly of Notables, and agreed, under French auspices and dictation, upon certain matters of state, of vital significance to their countrymen. This was their action, as set forth in the official decree ; and it is a final answer to all questions as to the underlying purposes of Napoleon :

“ The provisional supreme executive power of the nation, to the inhabitants thereof : Know ye, that the Assembly of Notables has thought fit to decree as follows :

“ 1. The Mexican nation adopts as its form of gov-

ernment a limited hereditary monarchy, with a Catholic prince.

“ 2. The sovereign shall take the title of Emperor of Mexico.

“ 3. The imperial crown of Mexico is offered to his imperial and royal highness the Prince Ferdinand Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, for himself and his descendants.

“ 4. If, under circumstances which cannot be foreseen, the Archduke of Austria, Ferdinand Maximilian, should not take possession of the throne which is offered to him, the Mexican nation relies on the good-will of His Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, to indicate for it another Catholic prince.”

It is in this analysis and summary of causes that led to the London convention and its dissolution at the Orizaba conference ; of the relations of Mexico to the powers she so openly defied ; of the motives that led Louis Napoleon to enforce the claims of France alone ; of the history of the invasion to the surrender of the capital ; and of the origin and action of the Assembly of Notables, that one may see in a true light the Mexicans' choice of a sovereign of the new empire ; judge the real causes of their action ; and gain acquaintance with the problems of Church and State, of diplomacy and politics, that awaited the coming of Maximilian and Carlotta.

CHAPTER IV.

Choice of a ruler—Estrada and the Clerical leaders—The Archduke—Birth—Education—Student—Naval commander—Viceroy—Marriage—Carlotta—Ancestry—Personal qualities—Miramar—Invitation to Mexican throne—The deputation—Estrada's plea—Maximilian's reply—Popular vote—Guaranties—Motives—Ambition—Von Gagern's warning—Carlotta's decision—Acts of adhesion—Treaty of Miramar—Second deputation—Acceptance of the throne—Departure from Miramar—Visit to Rome—Arrival at Vera Cruz—Proclamation—Journey to the capital—Reception—Vision of imperialism—Chapultepec.

NAPOLEON received the nomination of the Assembly of Notables "as a symptom of favorable augury," and hailed with satisfaction the result of the intrigue and diplomatic negotiations at London, Mexico, Paris, Brussels, Rome, and Vienna. Forey and Bazaine and their victorious legions had opened the way to the accomplishment of the original scheme. The crowning act must be brilliant and dramatic ; and the new empire must rise from the ruins of the old civilization, and challenge the world with its lustre and promise, to rank with that other empire of which the first Napoleon

dreamed and prophesied in the land of the Egyptians. The choice of a ruler in the new government was a serious question. It was necessary that he should be acceptable to the clerical and royalist parties at home and abroad ; to the great powers, wearied of the Mexicans and their revolutions ; and willing to serve the vanity and ambition of the Emperor of the French. Mexico could offer no suitable candidate ; and, in French judgment, any Mexican name would have had no prestige, and would have commanded no respect. It was clear to the parties in interest that the sovereign must be a foreigner, a man of royal lineage, and above the jealousies of a commoner raised to kingly dignity and power.

The shrewd old diplomatist, Estrada, for twenty years the earnest advocate of foreign intervention at Rome and Vienna ; Almonte, and other clerical leaders, privy to the secret negotiations and plans for the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico,—now that the golden moment for the realization of their hopes had come,—hastened to name the man for the occasion, the Austrian Archduke Maximilian. The choice was no surprise to the Emperor, for negotiations had been opened with the

Archduke before the London convention was written ; and it commended itself to his political sagacity, for by it he could make partial amends to Austria for the surrender of Lombardy and Venice, as the ultimate price of peace in the Italian campaign ; her neutrality would probably be assured in the event of war with any other power ; and the prince was a champion of the Church, a defender of the religion the Emperor had undertaken to restore in its western stronghold ; and, above all, through this selection he could defeat the ambition of the Spanish court for the elevation of one of the Bourbon princes, and no continental power would probably challenge his choice.

The crown was offered to a man of kingly race and history. At Schönbrunn, in July, 1832, a second son was born to the Archduke Francis Charles, brother of Ferdinand I. of Austria, and Sophia Frederica Dorothea, princess of Bavaria. In royal fashion this child of imperialism was christened Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph, honored names in the annals of the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine. He was educated for the navy, entered the service at the age of fourteen ; and, apart from the pre-

ferment and promotion which would inevitably mark the career of the emperor's brother, he won, by his ability and merit, the rank of rear-admiral. Prince Salm-Salm, a schoolmate and close friend, who served on the staff of Maximilian, and who died in a charge of the Prussian cavalry at Gravelotte, thus describes him :

“ He was about six feet high, and of slender figure. His movements and gait were light and graceful, his greeting especially genial. His mouth had the unmistakable stamp of Hapsburg house, but not so strongly marked as with some of his illustrious family. The expression of his face was kind and friendly, and so was his bearing. Even with his intimates he was never familiar, but preserved a certain dignity of manner. He was true to his friends, and loyal to a fault ; for he never could suspect treachery in those who surrounded him. His love of beauty and harmony was so great that he was easily captivated by handsome people with pleasing manners ; and he could not divest himself of the idea that a fine human form must contain a noble soul. Raised in the gayest capital in Germany, or, perhaps, in the whole world ; educated at one of its most brilliant courts ; this prince, though always of a cheerful disposition, was never prone to frivolity or the many follies by which young men, situated like himself, usually enervate alike their brains and systems. While others were flitting the ‘ golden moments ’ away,—taking part in pompous shows, or indulging in the effeminacies of a life at court,

—he was immured with his professors, or deeply intent upon some erudite work. Educated, too, by men who feared not to tell him the truth,—men who had his welfare solely at heart,—he ‘possessed opportunities’—I am using his own words—‘seldom, alas! accorded to princes.’ Nor has he shown himself to be unworthy or unappreciative of the lore and devotion thus bestowed upon him by his early teachers.”

He was of fine presence, winning and courteous manners, charitable in his judgments of men and their motives; and, while intolerant of any abuse of power, and a critic of monasticism and the barren life of the cloister, he was an imperialist in every sense, and an extremist in his devotion to the tenets of the Catholic Church. He was a noted linguist, a student of the natural sciences, whose acquirements won the friendship and interest of Humboldt, and an enthusiast in scientific discovery and exploration. In 1854, at the age of twenty-two, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the imperial navy. In this high office he accomplished many notable reforms. He modified the system and discipline of the service, adopted the later designs in construction and armament, increased the naval force, planned improvements of the coast defenses, visited Candia, Egypt, and Palestine, for the study of

natural history and archæology, and began the construction of the great naval station and arsenal at ancient Pola. While engaged in these important enterprises, and at a period of intense political excitement in 1857, he was chosen governor-general of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Its peoples, tossed upon the tides of revolution, in all their history hated everything that bore the name or sign of royalty; and Austria then knew no rule of her diverse nationalities, save that of force.

To modify or temper the decrees of a military despotism, to thwart the designs of men whose only hope of preferment lay in the rigorous enforcement of its decrees, to hold in check the impulses of the masses, and satisfy them that prosperity and freedom could come only through patience and peace, were some of the tasks for the young viceroy to master. There was need of statesmanship, of political sagacity, of broad sympathy; and these qualities so centred in Maximilian's character, that he won the respect and confidence of all classes. For two years he filled the position with honor, and left, as the notable results of his administration, valuable public improvements, a more humane policy toward political

offenders, and a *modus vivendi* which made the Hapsburg yoke more tolerable to bear, until the final cession of the kingdom to Italy.

At the opening of the Franco-Italian campaign in 1859, when the kingdom itself was to become one of the prizes of battle, Maximilian retired from his office, and resumed his studies of literature and science at his castle of Miramar, which he had built near Trieste. It was at this period in his life that he wrote the books of travel, the collections of precepts and sketches, which have invited the attention of scholars, from their literary and philosophic merit; and made journeys to Brazil, Madeira, and England, where he was welcomed and fêted.

But the notable event in the early manhood of the Archduke, and the one which moulded his destiny when the great question of his life was to be decided, was his marriage in the first year of his viceroyalty (July 27, 1857), at Brussels, to the Princess Maria Charlotte Amelia, daughter of Leopold I., King of Belgium, and the "Holy Queen" Louise Maria, the second daughter of Louis Philippe. At the time of her marriage, Carlotta was but seventeen years of age; but she was no

stranger to questions of diplomacy and statecraft, since from childhood she was accustomed to be present in the Council of State when questions of policy were discussed, and she was familiar with both the open and secret operations in imperial politics.

She was tall, beautiful, and graceful, with a gentleness that won all who met her, and of courtly and gracious manners. She spoke and wrote with equal fluency, French, German, English, Spanish, and Italian, and was trained in all the duties and refinements of court etiquette. She was noted for her acts of charity, and devoted, both in her private and public life, to the happiness and welfare of the people. The marriage of these royal lovers was less for reasons of state than from affection and choice. There seemed to be, in the courts of Europe, at that time, no man of higher promise, of more notable achievements for his years, than Maximilian; and, beyond question, there was not, among the daughters of royalty, one of greater acquirements, of wider knowledge of political affairs, of loftier ambition, of fairer fame, than Carlotta. No woman of royal lineage and history in our time, save one—Eugénie—has met so sad a fate.



CASTLE OF MIRAMAR

In September, 1863, to their home of happiness and peace, at Miramar, came the deputation appointed by the Assembly of Notables, consisting of nine distinguished Mexicans, to plead for their unhappy country, and tender to the Archduke the Mexican throne. The prayer of the deputies was ingenious and impressive, presented by their orator, Estrada :

“ Prince : The powerful hand of a generous monarch had hardly restored liberty to the Mexicans, when he dispatched us to your imperial highness, cherishing the sincerest wishes and warmest hopes for our mission. . .

“ Once again master of her destinies, Mexico, taught by experience, is at this moment making a last effort to correct her faults. She is changing her institutions, being firmly persuaded that those now selected will be even more salutary than the analogous arrangements which existed at the time she was the colony of a European state. . . . But whatever may be our confidence in such institutions, their efficiency will be only perfect when crowned in the person of your imperial highness. A king, the heir of an old monarchy, and representing solid institutions, may render his people happy, even in the absence of distinguished qualities of mind and character ; but very different and exceptional qualities are required in a prince who intends to become the founder of a new dynasty and the heir of a republic.

“ Without you, Prince—believe it from these lips which have never served the purposes of flattery—without you, all our efforts to save the country will be in

vain. Without you will not be realized the generous intentions of a great sovereign, whose sword restored us to liberty, and whose powerful arm now supports us in this decisive hour. With you, however, experienced in the difficult art of government, our institutions would become what they ought to be, if the happiness and prosperity of our country are to be guaranteed. With you, they would have for their foundation that genuine liberty which is coupled with justice and moderation—not the spurious counterfeit we have become conversant with during half a century's ruinous wars and quarrels. . . .

“ Faithful interpreters of the longing desire and the wishes of our country, in its name we offer to your imperial highness the crown of Mexico,—that crown which a solemn resolution of the Assembly of Notables has of its free will and accord handed over to your imperial highness. Even now that resolution has been confirmed by the assent of many provinces, and will soon be sanctioned by the entire nation. May it please your imperial highness to fulfil our prayers and accept our choice. May we be enabled to carry the joyous tidings to a country awaiting them in longing anxiety ; joyous tidings not only for us Mexicans, but also for France, whose name is now indissolubly bound up with our history ; and gratitude for England and Spain, who began the work of revival ; and for the illustrious house of Austria, connected by time-honored and glorious memories with a new continent. . . .

“ These are the sentiments which, in the name of our grateful country, we lay at the feet of your imperial highness. We offer them to the worthy scion of that powerful dynasty which planted Christianity on our

native soil. On that soil, Prince, we hope to see you fulfil a high task, to mature the choicest fruits of culture, which are order and true liberty. The task is great ; but greater is our confidence in Providence, which has led us thus far."

The Prince answered their appeal in these memorable words :

"I am profoundly grateful for the wishes expressed by the Assembly of Notables. It cannot be other than flattering to our house, that the thoughts of your countrymen turn to the descendant of Charles V. It is a proud task to assure the independence and the prosperity of Mexico under the protection of free and lasting institutions. I must, however, recognize the fact—and in this I entirely agree with the Emperor of the French, whose glorious undertaking makes the regeneration of Mexico possible—that the monarchy cannot be re-established in your country on a firm and legitimate basis, unless the whole nation shall confirm, by a free manifestation of its will, the wishes of the capital.

"My acceptance of the offered throne must, therefore, depend upon the result of the vote of the whole country. Furthermore, a sentiment of the most sacred of the duties of the sovereign requires that he should demand for the proposed empire every necessary guarantee to secure it against the dangers which threaten its integrity and its independence. If substantial guarantees for the future can be obtained, and if the universal suffrage of the Mexican people select me as its choice, I shall be ready, with the consent of the illustrious chief of my family,

and trusting to the protection of the Almighty, to accept the throne."

So far, even then, had the question of acceptance been settled in the Archduke's mind, that he imposed but two conditions,—that the people should ratify the action of the Notables, and that certain great powers of Europe should guarantee the stability of the throne which was offered him. It is at this turning-point in his life that one seeks to the best advantage for the motives of his choice, and for that light in history which leads to a true judgment of himself and of his career. It has been urged that Maximilian was simply the tool and victim of Napoleon; that, after deluding him with fair promises into acceptance of the throne, he broke his word, withdrew his protection, and left the prince to his enemies. This is but part of the truth. Maximilian became emperor of Mexico both to suit Napoleon's purpose and his own. He had ample warning of the probable consequences of his enterprise, and from first to last acted with full knowledge of the problems and risks his acceptance would involve.

At Paris, in 1861, Estrada had broached the question to the Archduke, and thus afforded

him ample time for investigation ; and again at Paris, in 1863, the offer of kingship was made to him with the Emperor Francis Joseph's consent ; and at the same time a Prussian officer who had served in the " War of Independence " in Mexico,—Baron von Gagern,—at Maximilian's request, prepared for his information, a paper on the condition of Mexican politics. In this paper, and in several interviews, he urged the Archduke to renounce the scheme, and closed his remonstrance with these words : " I fear your Imperial Highness will pay for the attempt with your head." And ten years later Von Gagern met Baron Kuhn, then Austrian War Minister at Vienna, who told him that his memorandum was preserved among the archives of the state, and that he himself had done all he could to dissuade the prince from accepting the crown. The causes which shaped his destiny are to be found, in part, in his character and environment. He was a man of limitless ambition, but lacking in that strength of will and clearness of judgment which are at once its sole justification, and the only means of ensuring its success. " Gallantry, courage, honesty of purpose, with a host of the private

virtues, did not save him from being the unconscious instrument of insensate vainglory, bigotry, cupidity, speculation, and bad faith.

So long as he was chief of the Austrian navy, or viceroy of Lombardy-Venice, he felt that in some degree he filled his proper place ; but when he was recalled in 1859, and retired to private life, he became deeply discontented. He was a man of action, hungry for distinction, and confident of his own powers. To one whose exemplar was Charles V., the rôle of an ordinary archduke was intolerable. Had not many a prince been called to kingship in Europe, to win a name in the world's history? Even then, was not the heir of the house of Braganza, who had renounced his claims to that little kingdom, reigning in peace over the vast realm of Brazil? Might not he create, in that sunny land of kindred peoples, an empire even greater than Austria? He was poor too ; for in his whole career he had been an illustration of his own aphorism,—“Princes should be machines for the circulation of gold.” And when the Mexican deputation, organized by Louis Napoleon and engineered by the French generals and clerical exiles, offered him a crown which was not theirs to bestow, he ac-

cepted the fatal gift, with its promised emoluments and honors.

But apart from the necessities of the Archduke, or his ambition for leadership and fame, there was a reason of state in his choice. In the great political and social agitation in Austria, pending the war with Italy, the eyes of many of the revolutionary leaders were fixed upon the princely and popular young viceroy at Milan, as the very man who should lead them to victory in their contest with imperialism. They were mistaken in him, his real strength and availability for their purposes ; but the consciousness of their choice weighed in the decision, when the Emperor Francis Joseph granted to Maximilian his assent to his acceptance of the Mexican crown, at the special intercession of the French court, and only upon the absolute abdication of his hereditary rights to the Austrian succession. Add to these potent factors of ambition and necessity, the visionary qualities of mind of one who allowed himself to be dominated by such a man as Bazaine, and the motive for his acceptance becomes evident.

But a mind more forceful than Maximilian's was at work on the great question of his life ;

and there is little doubt that the final decision fell from the lips of Carlotta. She put implicit trust in the counsels of her father ; she hearkened to the entreaties of the clerical refugees ; she could not doubt the power of Napoleon and the Pope. Would not the new empire in the West be made secure in the pledges of Austria, France, and Belgium ? Could not the prince command the most powerful support ? The Austrian emperor was his elder brother ; the king of the Belgians was his father-in-law ; the queens of England and of Spain, the kings of Italy and of Sweden, were his cousins. The reward was a crown, the honor great, the hazard seemingly little ; and this woman of heroic qualities, and ambitious as himself, became the arbiter of her husband's destiny.

The deputation returned to Mexico, and made known the conditions of acceptance. An election was held under the direction of the French military authorities, which confirmed the assembly decree ; and plans were made to secure acts of adhesion from the several states. A secret treaty was made with Napoleon on the day of the acceptance of the throne, "to secure the re-establishment of peace in Mexico, and to consolidate the new

empire." The "guaranties of peace" were of a very practical character as finally defined in the articles. The French troops were to evacuate Mexico as fast as Maximilian should be able to replace them with Mexicans; the foreign legion of eight thousand men was to remain six years, if he so desired; four hundred thousand francs were to be paid for each service of transports between France and Vera Cruz, and one thousand francs a year for each man of the troops of the *corps d'armée*; the expenses of the French expedition to July 1, 1864, were fixed at two hundred and seventy million francs, to be paid by Mexico, together with all expenses of the Mexican army after that date; sixty-six million francs in bonds, in one payment, and twenty-five million francs annually, in specie, were also to be turned over on account of war expenses and indemnities to French subjects; and commissioners were designated at Mexico and Paris to determine all claims. To secure these burdensome pledges of the empire, a clause was inserted in the original draft of the treaty, ceding the province of Sonora, with its vast mineral resources, to France; which was abandoned only upon the vigorous protest of Maximilian.

Such were the hard and fast terms of the agreement, in contrast with the original declarations to Spain and England, and the protestations to the Mexicans inspired by Napoleon himself.

The man who re-established in himself the imperial dignity of France by the ballots of eight million voters against a dissenting minority of but two hundred and fifty thousand, might well count upon almost a unanimous result from a faction of the Mexican people, with Bazaine and his veterans as inspectors of election. The acts of adhesion were forthcoming; although many Mexicans of note never saw the official documents upon which their names were written. The hero of Donelson and Vicksburg had been placed in command of the Union forces, and was about to open the historic Wilderness campaign, with its sacrificial victories, when in April, 1864, the envoys returned, and the crown was formally tendered to the Archduke. He had been apprised of the arrival of the deputation, and that they had obtained for his election, "as far as practicable," the sanction of the popular vote. The solemn ceremony took place at Miramar, in the presence of the Emperor of

Austria and his other brothers, and a brilliant assembly of notabilities.

The Mexican deputies were presented to the Archduke and the Princess in the magnificent reception hall. Estrada, who had also been chosen president of the second deputation, delivered another address, in which he dwelt on the importance of the national vote of Mexico, which had been taken at the request of Maximilian, and which had confirmed the action of the Assembly of Notables, and added :

“Our happiness is complete in informing you, in the name of the Regency of the Empire, that the vote by which you have been designated for the crown of Mexico, is now ratified by the adhesion of an immense majority of the country, by the municipal authorities, and by the town corporations ; and, thus consecrated, that unanimous proclamation has become, by its moral importance and by its numerical strength, truly a national vote. There will be no reward more enviable than that which your Highness will receive in seeing, at no remote day, Mexico prosperous and respected.”

Maximilian, in his reply, said :

“A mature examination of the acts of adhesion which you have just presented me gives me confidence that the vote of the Notables of Mexico, which brought you a short time ago to Miramar, has been ratified by an

immense majority of your compatriots, and that I can consider myself henceforth, with good right, the elect of the Mexican people. . . .

“The illustrious head of my family having given his consent, I now declare that, relying on the assistance of the Almighty, I accept the crown offered me by the Mexican nation. . . .

“I shall hold firmly aloft the flag of independence, as the symbol of our future grandeur. I call for the co-operation of all the Mexicans who love their country to aid me in the accomplishment of my noble but most difficult task. Never shall my government forget the gratitude it owes to the illustrious sovereign whose friendly support has rendered the regeneration of our noble land possible. I am now on the point of leaving for my new country, paying, as I go, a visit to Rome, where I shall receive from the Holy Father that benediction which is so precious for all sovereigns, but, above all, to me, called, as I am, to found a new empire.”

At the last word the deputation and all the Mexicans present hailed their new sovereign by crying out three times: “God save the emperor Maximilian I. ! God save the empress Carlotta !” Estrada returned thanks to His Majesty for his acceptance, and said :

“Sire, this complete and absolute acceptance on the part of your Majesty is the prelude of our happiness ; it is the consecration of the salvation of Mexico, of its approaching regeneration, of its future greatness. Every year, on this day, our children will offer up their thanks-

givings to heaven in gratitude for our miraculous deliverance. As for us, sire, there remains a last duty to perform, and that is, to lay at your feet our love, our gratitude, and the homage of our fidelity."

The solemn oath of office was then administered :

"I, Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, swear to God by the Holy Evangelists, to procure, by every means in my power, the happiness and prosperity of the nation, to defend its independence, and to conserve its integrity and its territory."

The assembly then entered the chapel, where the grand *Te Deum* was chanted. The imperial flag of Mexico was unfurled from the castle tower, and greeted by cheers, and by salutes from the ships in the harbor.

On April 14, 1864, Maximilian and Carlotta set out on their mission of empire. They were accompanied by a brilliant retinue of French, Austrian, and Mexican officers of high rank, many of them with their wives and daughters. The emperor chose his favorite ship, the *Novara* of the Austrian navy, for the journey to Mexico ; and, embarking at Miramar with a convoy of twelve steamers, the fateful errand was joyously heralded in the holiday naval

parade along the coasts to Civita Vecchia, on the way to Rome. At all points the imperial visitors were greeted with great enthusiasm and magnificence; and a series of brilliant entertainments and festivities made memorable their welcome to the Holy City. After several audiences with the Pope, in which the restoration of the Church to its former splendor and power, and the advancement of the interests of the Clerical party, were particularly discussed, the young rulers received the communion, and departed with the Papal benediction. The voyage was uneventful; and, touching at Martinique and Jamaica, the *Novara*, and her single escort, the French frigate, *Themis*, dropped anchor in Vera Cruz harbor, at evening, May 28, 1864.

It was necessary for the emperor to at once declare the royal purpose and pleasure to his people. A proclamation was made—a strong appeal for loyalty, for support, and yet in homage to the power beyond the seas, “the civilizing power of France,” whose weakness was so soon to be made known. This was the emperor’s announcement, with the honeyed words of Napoleon, the oaths of loyalty of the clerical exiles, the music of Estrada’s promises,

and the blessings of His Holiness, still ringing in his ears :

“ Mexicans : You have desired my presence. Your noble nation, by a universal vote, has elected me henceforth the guardian of your destinies : I gladly obey your will. Painful as it has been for me to bid farewell for ever to my own, my native country, I have done so, being convinced that the Almighty has pointed out to me, through you, the great and noble duty of devoting all my might and heart to the care of a people who, at last, tired of war and disastrous contests, sincerely wish for peace and prosperity. . . . The reliance that you place in me, and I in you, will be crowned by a brilliant triumph if we remain always steadfastly united in courageously defending those great principles which are the only true and lasting basis of modern government, those principles of inviolable and immutable justice, the equality of all men before the law ; equal advantages to all in attaining positions of trust and honor, socially and politically ; complete and well-defined personal liberty, consisting in protection to the individual and the protection of his property ; encouragement to the national wealth ; improvements in agriculture, mining, and manufactures ; the establishment of new lines of communication for an extensive commerce ; and, lastly, the free development of intelligence in all that relates to public welfare. . . .

“ The civilizing flag of France, raised to such a high position by her noble Emperor, to whom you owe the new birth of order and peace, represents those principles. . . .

“ My strength rests in God and in your loyal con-

fidence. The banner of independence is my symbol ; my motto you know already,—‘Equal justice to all.’ I will be faithful to this trust through all my life. It is my duty conscientiously to wield the sceptre of authority, and with firmness the sword of honor.

“To the empress is confided the sacred trust of devoting to the country all the noble sentiments of Christian virtue and all the teachings of a tender mother.

“Let us unite to reach the goal of our common desires ; let us forget past sorrows ; let us lay aside party hatreds, and the bright morning of peace and of well-deserved happiness will dawn glorious on our new empire.”

The emperor and empress were welcomed with enthusiasm, and from Vera Cruz to Mexico their progress was one grand ovation. It was the tribute, in part, of a despairing people released from the curse of war and the ruin of revolution, and, in part, of a faction animated by a selfish purpose ; but to Maximilian and Carlotta, inspired by their romantic mission, the demonstrations were genuine, and prophetic of loyalty and peace. At Vera Cruz the prefect of the city, with a deputation of distinguished persons, went on board the *Novara*, and welcomed the emperor, and presented to the empress their pledge of the nation’s fealty. This was their salutation and promise :

“ Your Majesty will please condescend to receive the most sincere congratulations and the most perfect homage from the authorities and the inhabitants of this district. While I have the honor to present the committee to your Majesty on your fortunate arrival, they are struck with admiration by the virtues and talents your noble character presents. Providence has offered Mexico the double benefit of an enlightened sovereign, united in destiny with your Majesty, an object of affection and respect with all good hearts, and Mexico recognizes in you a worthy spouse of our elected Emperor. The Mexicans, madam, who expect so much from the influence of your Majesty, in favor of all that is noble and great, of all that bears relation to the elevated sentiments of religion and country, bless the moment in which your Majesty reached our soil, and proclaim, in one voice, Long live the Empress ! ”

The empress made a graceful response in Spanish, the language in which she was addressed, which charmed the deputation.

At five o'clock on the morning of May 25th, mass was said on shipboard ; and it was determined to leave the next day on the journey to the capital. They were met, on landing, by the officials, who presented the keys of the city, with an address of congratulation. They passed through the principal streets, with General Almonte and a brilliant escort in attendance, and were warmly greeted by an immense

gathering of the people. At Puebla,—the Mexican Saragossa,—where Lorencez and Forey had made such sacrifice to Napoleon's ambition, there was a notable demonstration. They were escorted in a grand procession to the cathedral, where imposing religious ceremonies were held ; and the emperor was greeted in affectionate terms by representatives of the city and nation, and made a fitting response, using, in closing, these words :

“With a sentiment of pleasure mingled with grief I see your city ; with pleasure I salute one of the largest, most beautiful, and important cities of the Empire ; with pain I contemplate the inhabitants agitated by the evils of political disruptions. The government, to whose elevation you have contributed, will impose upon itself the task of healing your wounds as soon as possible, and of facilitating, by means of institutions which are in accordance with the age, the development of prosperity, so that the resources of this rich country may be cultivated in the highest degree.”

Again the empress took captive the minds and hearts of the Mexicans. It was her twenty-fourth birthday ; and, in accordance with her invariable custom, she celebrated the anniversary with deeds of charity. She had visited the hospital ; and, finding it in a state

of dilapidation, she sent a gift to the mayor of the city, with the following note :

“Señor Prefect :—It is very pleasing to me to find myself in Puebla the first anniversary of my birthday which I have passed far from my own country. Such a day is for everybody one of reflection. And these days would be sad for me if the care, attention, and proofs of affection, of which I have been the object in this city, did not cause me to recollect that I am in my new country, among my people. . . . And I give thanks to God because he has conducted me here, presenting unto him fervent prayers for the happiness of the country which is mine. . . .

“I wish, Señor Prefect, that the poor of this city may participate in the pleasure which I have experienced among you. I send you seven thousand dollars of my own private funds, which is to be dedicated to the rebuilding of the House of Charity, the ruinous state of which made me feel sad yesterday, so that the unfortunate ones, who found themselves deprived of shelter, may return to inhabit it.

“Assure my compatriots of Puebla that they possess, and will always possess, my affections.”

At all the principal places on the way the people voiced their welcome in addresses and other demonstrations of loyalty and respect. On the twelfth of June the emperor and empress made their formal entry into the capital. Their fondest hopes were realized in their brilliant and impressive re-

ception. Volleys of artillery, mingled with the clangor of bells, heralded their coming. Thousands of the natives, inspired by the priests with promises of the restoration of their ancient liberties at the hands of the new rulers, thronged the avenues of approach, bearing banners of palm-leaves and masses of flowers; the municipal authorities and deputations of citizens presented their greetings at the city gates; and the imperial procession, with an escort of troops of all arms, moved through the streets, elaborate in decorations, and under arches of flowers, to the ancient cathedral. At the threshold of this monument of their faith, memorable in the history of both Church and State, they were received by the archbishops of Mexico and Michoacan, the bishop of Mexico, and a retinue of the clergy, and conducted to a throne prepared for them in the spacious edifice. The grand *Te Deum* was sung, and the occasion signalized by impressive religious ceremonies, significant alike to the sovereigns in their love and reverence for the Church, to the prelates and priests shorn of their temporal possessions, and to the people who saw in the enthusiasm of the hour the promise of freedom and peace.

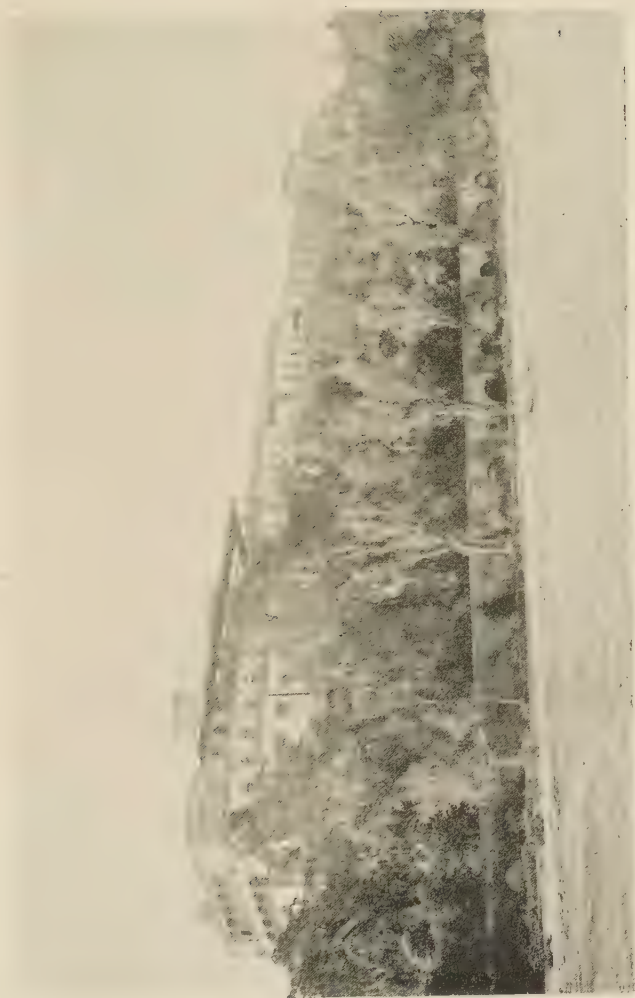
At the close of the celebration the emperor and empress held a levee at the palace, when many distinguished Mexicans were presented, orders and decorations were conferred, and the final pledges of the nation's loyalty were offered in an eloquent address by the political prefect. Thus Mexico, with gracious hospitality, undertook the redemption of Estrada's guaranties at Miramar.

Sherman had begun his historic march to the sea ; and the incense of sacrifice at Cold Harbor and Spottsylvania veiled the stars of victory at Appomattox, when the emperor and empress were welcomed to the ancient city. They had trusted the invitations of the Notables, couched in the rhetoric of Estrada, and the acts of adhesion, as sincere and genuine ; and they believed the greeting of their people to be both loyal and patriotic. The bayonets of Belgium, Austria, and France were at their right hand ; regiments of Mexicans were rallying to their standards ; and the only power they need fear was then in the midst of a mighty battle for its existence. Well might they look upon their mission as thus far crowned with good fortune. Sadowa, Queretaro, and Sedan did not cast their shad-

ows into the purple light of the sunny land, and the empire seemed secure upon the guarantee and support of the three monarchies. The vision of imperialism, as put in characteristic utterance by the young Archduke at Naples in 1857, may have seemed a present reality :

“The monumental stairway of the palace of Caserta is worthy of majesty. What can be finer than to imagine the sovereign placed at its head, resplendent in the midst of those marble pillars ; to fancy this monarch like a God graciously permitting the approach of human beings : the crowd surges upward ; the king vouchsafes a gracious glance, but from a lofty elevation. All-powerful, imperial, he makes one step towards them with a smile of infinite condescension. Could Charles V., could Maria Theresa appear thus at the head of this ascending stair, who could not bow the head before that majestic power, God-given ? I, too, poor fluttering insect of a day, have felt such pride throb in my veins, when I have been standing in the palace of the Doges of Venice, as to think how agreeable it would be, not too often, but in rare, solemn moments, to stand thus at the height of such an ascent, and, glancing downward over all the world, to feel myself the First, like the sun in the firmament.”

The castle of Chapultepec was chosen as the royal residence ; and there court life, under the new empire, opened with splendor and



CASTLE OF CHAPULTEPEC

promise, and the emperor and empress undertook to solve the complex problems which environed them like the sombre shadows of the cypresses that have kept their silent vigil at the castle since the Aztec days.

CHAPTER V.

Political and economic problems—Revival of industry, commerce, trade—Cabinet and Council—Military occupation—Guerrilla warfare—Proclamation—"The Black Decree"—Its enforcement—Tacambaro massacre—Emperor's responsibility—Bazaine—Suppression of Liberal government—Finances—Eloin and Langlais—Internal improvements—Education—Church and State—Code Maximilian—Carlotta and state affairs—Mission to Yucatan—Choice of heir to throne—Josefa—Prince Augustin—Restoration of church estates and revenue—Address to Mexican bishops—Carlotta's letter—Results under the empire.

A CABINET of counsellors was chosen from the ranks of the French and Mexicans of honor and distinction : orders and decorations were bestowed, officers assigned to various commands ; and the imperial court undertook its giant work of conquering or negotiating a lasting peace, restoring order and system to the public service, and laying the foundations of a successful reign. The emperor studied the situation, and set resolutely to work to effect a radical change. The principles upon which the government was to be administered had already been made known, and had commended

themselves to the approval of every intelligent Mexican. As the first step, the emperor caused it to be distinctly understood, that every citizen was to be protected by the laws, in his person and property ; that every one was expected to devote himself to his business, without any apprehension of being called upon for compulsory military service. Activity and enterprise followed this declaration, even in the most distant provinces. Crowds of farmers, anxious to buy implements to resume the cultivation of their long-neglected fields, filled the mercantile houses in the large towns ; and in every department of industry the same energy began to be exhibited, and with the same encouraging results. Mexican mechanics, always noted for their ingenuity and for the excellence of their workmanship, assured now of certain remuneration, devoted themselves to their respective trades with a certainty of reward ; and all the mechanic arts received a powerful impulse. Commerce revived ; and a profitable trade was established with the West Indies, with South America, and the United States, which brought in considerable revenue to the imperial treasury.

Whatever success attended Maximilians'

early administration of affairs may be attributed mainly to two causes : first, to the energy and perseverance of the emperor himself, to his undeniable executive qualities, and to the manner in which his plans were often devised and all his efforts seconded by the empress ; and second, to the fact that he gathered around him a number of Mexicans, both in and out of his cabinet, who were devoted to their country, and loyal to any plan that should insure its prosperity and peace. In the organization of his government, Maximilian wisely enlisted their power and influence ; and with them were grouped the experienced statesmen and financiers who had been sent to his assistance, and designated for certain offices, by the Emperor Napoleon. His council of ministers and his council of state were composed of men who were best qualified to conceive and enforce the necessary measures.

There were two vital questions which demanded immediate attention,—military operations, and the finances. In the year succeeding the capture of Mexico by General Forey, and the defeat and dispersion of the Republican army, the French forces had been actively

engaged in pursuing the remnants of the Republican troops, who, broken up into small detachments, roamed all over the country, robbing and murdering travellers, and plundering and burning houses, and sacking villages. The guerrillas, and roaming brigands in military guise, were guilty of atrocities as horrible as those which set the civilization of the world aghast in the villages of Bulgaria. Their suppression became a necessity ; and the question was, how best to accomplish it ? After grave deliberation, the emperor issued the following proclamation :

“Mexicans : The cause which Don Benito Juarez defended with so much valor and constancy has already succumbed, under the force not only of the national will, but also of the very law which that officer invoked in support of his pretensions.

“The national government for a long time was lenient and exercised great clemency, in order to give the chance to misled and misinformed men to rally to the majority of the nation and to place themselves anew in the path of duty. It has fulfilled its object ; the honorable men have assembled under its banner, and have accepted the just and liberal principles which regulate its politics. The disorder is only maintained by some leaders carried away by unpatriotic passions, and assisted by demoralized persons who cannot reach to the level of political principles ; and by an unprincipled soldiery, the last and sad remnants of the civil wars.

“ Hereafter the contest will only be between the honorable men of the nation, and the gangs of criminals and robbers. Clemency will cease now, for it would only profit the mob who burn villages, rob and murder peaceful citizens, poor old men and defenseless women.

“ The government, resting on its power, from this day will be inflexible in its punishment ; since the laws of civilization, the rights of humanity, and the exigencies of morality demand it.”

No one could question the necessity of this action ; but upon it, in the teeth of strong remonstrances, including, it is said, those of Carlotta, was grafted the iniquitous decree defining the degrees of crime and its penalties, which at the last closed the ears of Juarez and the victorious Liberals to all appeals for mercy and pardon for their illustrious captive, and sealed his fate. These are its famous articles :

“ Article I.—All persons belonging to armed bands or corps, not legally organized, whether they proclaim or not any political principles, and whatever be the number of those who compose the said bands, their organization, character, and denomination, shall be tried militarily by the courts-martial, and if found guilty only of the fact of belonging to the band, they shall be condemned to capital punishment within the twenty-four hours following the sentence.

“ Art. II.—Those who, belonging to the bands mentioned in the previous article, will be captured with arms

in their hands, shall be tried by the officer of the force which has captured them, and he shall, within a delay never extending over twenty-four hours after the said capture, make a verbal inquest of the offense, hearing the defense of the prisoner. Of this inquest he will draw an act, closing with the sentence, which must be capital punishment, if the accused is found guilty only of the fact of belonging to the band. The officer shall have the sentence executed within the twenty-four hours aforesaid, seeing that the criminal receive spiritual assistance. The sentence having been executed, the officer shall forward the act of inquest to the minister of war."

Thrice, it is said, did the emperor refuse to set his hand to this open violation of the rules and traditions of civilized warfare, and he must have been convinced that the act applied only to the professional highwayman and banditti, and did not apply to the republican troops fighting under their national colors for national independence. At the fourth meeting of the council, the ministers argued that the decree issue as a mere menace to the rebels ; that it would serve its purpose without actual enforcement, and the French and Mexican generals, who had been called in to advise, urged that it was a military necessity, and that the sentences of the courts-martial could be revoked or suspended, and the lives of those

condemned be saved through various pretexts. The royal assent was given, upon these assurances.

A swift and terrible answer came, only ten days later, at Tacambaro. The Imperialists, under Mendez, defeated the Liberals, and General Artiaga, a sincere and honest man, and General Salazar, governor of the department, and four colonels, were selected from the prisoners of war, and shot, pursuant to the letter of the decree. Horrified at this savagery, two hundred and five Belgian officers and soldiers sent to the emperor a remarkable protest, closing in these words :

“ We hope, sire, that this act of barbarity will not remain unpunished, and that you will cause the laws existing among civilized nations to be respected. We protest most earnestly against this unworthy act, hoping that the Belgian name will not much longer continue mixed up with this iniquitous war.”

Whatever the emperor's compunction may have been in the outset, whatever was done by those whom he trusted, to induce him to sanction the articles, whatever regret may have been his when in his own extremity his merciless accusers demanded the highest penalty for “ *The Black Decree*,” certain it is, that, with

the unanswerable evidence of its literal enforcement in the camps of his own armies before him, he stayed no man's hand, he took no steps to cancel his act or to mitigate its severity, or to check the willing instruments who hastened to do his will.

Countless sacrifices were made to this shameful order; and hundreds of officers and men, of the best blood of Mexico, in regular military service, and battling for the preservation of their country, were murdered because they refused to take the oath of fealty—many of them as worthy of honor as Salazar, who said in a letter to his mother, the night before his execution: "My conscience is quiet. I go down to the tomb at thirty-three years of age, without a stain upon my military career, or a blot upon my name." It is true that many men came in from the scattered detachments of the Liberals, laid down their arms, and engaged in peaceful pursuits; but the gangs of criminals and robbers went on in their nefarious work, and no plea of ignorance, no late repentance, can change the judgment of history as to the emperor's responsibility for this outrage in the name of law.

The suppression of the guerrillas was but an

incident in the actual military occupation. The real problem was the destruction of the government of Juarez. So long as Liberalism could retain a foothold on Mexican soil, there could be no peace that was not at best an armed truce. When General Forey returned to France, in 1863, having received the marshalship he so highly prized, General Bazaine was made commander-in-chief, and remained in control until the evacuation and abandonment of Maximilian in 1867. Bazaine was sent out in 1862 as an officer of rank and experience, to aid in the glorious task of building up the new empire. So prominent was his rôle in the plot of the Franco-Mexican drama, that a word as to his history seems fitting. A soldier of the line, promoted for gallant service in Algeria and Morocco, against the Carlists in Spain, on the fields of Malegnano and Solferino, and in the Crimea, and made general of division and governor of Sebastopol on its capture by the allies—he seemed worthy of all confidence and honor. But so soon as he felt himself master of the situation in Mexico, clothed with unusual authority and discretion, and saw the opportunity for his own advancement, the true

character of this "private soldier who carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack," revealed itself.

He married an ambitious and beautiful Mexican, who belonged to the faction who engineered the intervention—to enhance his own popularity with the people. The civil marriage was performed with great display by the intendant of the city ; the archbishop gave the couple his blessing ; and Maximilian and Carlotta acted as padrinos. The emperor, as a token of his esteem, presented a beautiful palace to "the pacificator of his realm," in which he lived in great luxury and magnificence ; and in 1864 he was made a marshal of France. From this dizzy height of distinction and prosperity, he saw wider fields of conquest and renown ; and the daring soldier became the knight-errant of intrigue and treason.

He was true to no man, to no pledge, to no principle. He plotted against the government with the unquestionable purpose of having himself declared emperor in Maximilian's stead ; and at last, as a bribe to enlist him in his own nefarious work, he offered to betray his trust to Diaz, the victor of Puebla. And his real reputation among the French and Austrian forces is nowhere better shown than

in the sentence which one of the French generals is said to have written on Maximilian's request for his recall : " Bazaine would sell his mother to a cannibal, without being hard up, for a five-franc piece." And any criticism stands justified, when one recalls that on his return to France he defied public censure, threatened to publish the Emperor's correspondence when he charged him with the failure of the expedition, and challenged the Empress to disgrace him, as she had proposed. That, holding high rank in the Franco-Prussian war, he entered into secret relations with the parliamentary opposition, and insisted upon being appointed to the chief command of the army after the defeats at Woerth and Forbach ; and when beleaguered by the victorious Germans at Metz, he intrigued, that he might crush the young republic, and set up a regency, with Bazaine for regent, and the Prince Imperial for a figure-head. That he ventured negotiations with the enemy, in behalf of the Orleanist princes, to the degree that Moltke and Roon held him in horror as a traitor ; and finally, that he basely surrendered the great stronghold of the empire and the third army corps ; was tried for treason, and sentenced to death at

court-martial ; and, under a commutation to life imprisonment, died in exile and dishonor.

Such was the man Napoleon chose to do the work of peace for Maximilian. He organized a force, commanded by the notorious Du Pin, and composed of Mexicans and foreigners, whose custom it was to shoot every one suspected of hostility to the invaders, and to plunder and blackmail the resisting natives. It was a system of irregular warfare, for the most part, carried on with bravery and spirit, with assassinations and barbarities on both sides. At Santa Isabel, at Parras, Mapimi, Matamoros, Encarnacion, Saltillo, Monterey, and other strategic points to the northward, the troops of the Liberals made gallant defense under Trevino, Naranco, Escobedo, and other commanders ; but the real objective, the occupation of Mexico, was temporarily gained when Juarez and his government were driven from San Luis Potosi to Monterey, and at last from Chihuahua to the northern frontier.

While the military operations were in progress, and France, Austria, and Belgium were supplying men and materials, and the government was making loans in Europe at a ruinous discount, the emperor and his council of min-

isters undertook the no less serious problem of civil administration. At the head of these economic questions came *the revenue*. This department was placed in charge of Eloin and Langlais, Belgian and French financiers of ability and distinction; and they soon devised a plan, and carried it to a success, which placed the revenues of the country upon a satisfactory basis, and within two years they reported to the emperor that the income was sufficient to support the government, and leave a surplus to apply on the foreign liabilities, including the heavy charges due to France under the treaty of Miramar.

Internal improvements were projected upon an extensive scale. Roads and canals were repaired and improved; several lines of railway were surveyed; capitalists and engineers engaged in the enterprises; and the chief line from Vera Cruz to Mexico, as a military necessity, was pushed toward completion.

Education received particular attention and encouragement. Schools and academies were everywhere established, even in such remote states as Yucatan, and liberal provision was made for their support; and all the colleges in Mexico received large endowments from the

imperial purse. Maximilian and Carlotta expended large sums in charity, donations to schools and benevolent institutions, and public works.

Special attention was given to the adornment of the capital. The empress ordered the Alameda to be put in complete order, paying the expenses out of her private purse. The fountains were repaired, pavements relaid, trees pruned and trimmed, and the entire grounds decorated with plants, flowers, and trees; and it soon became the favorite resort for all classes of people. The Plaza, which was merely a bare, paved square, destitute of ornament, was wholly changed. The pavement was taken up; new walks laid; the spaces between the walks filled with trees, flowers, and shrubbery; fountains erected; and in the centre was placed a group of statuary, representing the leading spirits of the Mexican revolution—all the design and work of Mexican artists. To encourage dramatic art, the emperor began the erection of a magnificent theatre, and offered prizes for the best tragedy and comedy. Catholicism was the religion of the state; but all creeds were tolerated.

In the work of reform the emperor undertook, none in civil matters was of greater value than the revision of the Mexican laws. The most eminent and learned jurists were selected as commissioners ; and taking the Code Napoleon as a model, the work embodied all the general or public laws in force when the empire was established, and all that were enacted to the time of publication, after the downfall. The civil code has been recognized as authoritative in the later legislative and judicial history of Mexico, and has served as the standard in recent law reforms. It represents the energy and ability which the emperor displayed in his administration of civil affairs, the real intent and spirit of the government, and will always stand as a witness to its higher purposes and achievements.

The empress devoted herself to the great tasks in which her husband was so absorbed ; and in the earlier history of her service to the empire, there may be taken as signal illustrations of her genius and ability, her mission to the province of Yucatan, the nomination of an heir to the throne, and her discussion of the issues between Church and State, upon which hinged the destiny of the government itself.

In its strategic position and material resources, Yucatan was of prime importance to the integrity of the empire. Its people had not yielded ready obedience to their new masters; and late in 1865 the general discontent threatened the traditional revolution. The emperor could not leave his station of constant responsibility; and at last the empress undertook, with a few friends and a small escort, to visit the province, assure the Yucatanese of the government's interest in their welfare, allay their suspicions, and attach them to the policy and purposes of the court. It was a difficult and dangerous errand; but it was accomplished with a grace and completeness that the diplomacy of our times has seldom equalled. The earnestness and sincerity, the charm of speech and manner, which had won so many hearts at Vera Cruz, at Puebla, and in the court circles at the capital, proved no less effective among the mercurial races of the peninsula.

The empress visited the principal towns, and was received with respect and courtesy. Her accurate knowledge of the political situation, and her readiness in meeting all inquiries, disarmed the critics of the foreign rule, and

elicited the confidence of the masses. It was at the old capital, Merida, that her mission culminated ; and the story of her reception and gracious action there may be taken as the measure of her welcome and of her success. It is quaintly told in a letter of the time :

“ After receiving the congratulations of the delegations appointed to welcome her, her Majesty advanced into the city, in the midst of the liveliest acclamations, the cortége being swelled by various deputations and by a large number of distinguished persons.

“ Her Majesty was received upon the steps of the porch of the temple by the apostolic administrator of the diocese, the venerable ecclesiastical chapter, and all the clergy of the capital, in their splendid vestments.

“ Kneeling upon a crimson velvet cushion bordered with gold fringe and placed upon a rich carpet, her Majesty kissed the holy crucifix presented to her, and entered the edifice under a canopy borne by the judges of the Superior Court and the members of the government council of the district.

“ In the chancel a rich canopy was prepared ; and, after prayers customary upon the reception of sovereigns, and a chant accompanied by solemn music, worship was offered to Him through whose will all sovereigns reign ; during which the empress remained kneeling in a most devout attitude.

“ A solemn *Te Deum*, expressly composed for the occasion, was then performed.

“ The vast cathedral was filled with a numerous assem-

blage, comprising persons belonging to the highest, as well as the lowest, degrees of society, collected together to welcome the empress.

“ Upon the conclusion of the religious ceremonies, her Majesty received the congratulations of the officials of the district, in a mansion specially arranged for the purpose, and a large number of military and civil officers and citizens paid their respects.

“ In reply to the congratulatory address her Majesty appeared on the balcony of her apartments, at the request of the multitude without, and expressed herself as follows :

“ ‘ We have long wished to visit you, in order to study your necessities and learn your desires. The emperor, being prevented from effecting this important object, has sent me to you to present to you his cordial greetings.

“ ‘ I assure you from my heart that he deeply regrets that he cannot be here with me, to tell you how great is his affection toward you. He will regret it still more when I inform him of the enthusiastic reception you have given me. He desires, and by all means will endeavor to secure, the prosperity and happiness of the people of Yucatan.’ ”

It was upon her return that the critic, the Abbé Domenech said : “ If this country had ever had a president with half the ambition, energy, and honesty of the empress, it would be in a prosperous condition.”

In the empire’s sunny days, when its fortunes seemed assured to its friends, it became ex-

pedient to settle the question of the imperial succession. Maximilian and Carlotta had no children; and the very existence of the government, in the clash of opposing interests and ambitions, might hinge upon their choice. Maximilian the absolutist, with his faith in imperial authority, was in favor of the nomination of some cadet of the ancient monarchies; and his advisers of the council were of like mind, believing that no Mexican of rank or present distinction could hold the empire together. The final decision was due to the keen political sagacity of the empress, and her conviction that the perpetuity of the royal house and the realization of her visions of splendor and power were possible only through the cultivation of Mexican loyalty and patriotism, and the choice of an heir whose claims to rule and honor were rooted deep in Mexican traditions and Mexican national pride.

When Maximilian came into power, one of his first acts was to try to restore to the family of the former emperor, Iturbide (Augustin I.), the titles and grants of lands in Sonora and Lower California, which had been bestowed upon him "as a reward for having emancipated Mexico from Spanish tyranny"; and the

survivors of his family were permitted to return to their country. This was done at the instance of Josefa, Iturbide's daughter, one of the most talented and brilliant of the Mexican women. While the matter was in progress she was invited to become a member of the royal household. She was given apartments in the palace, dined with their Majesties, was present on all state occasions, became the empress's most trusted friend, sat with her at important deliberations of the imperial council, and in her heroic struggles for the empire's salvation in the last days was her confidant and comforter.

The name of Iturbide was held in honor, and his countrymen had written upon his memorial the title of "Liberator." Who could better hold the standard of peace, in distant times, than one of his race and name? Who could so surely appeal to Mexican honor as a lineal descendant of the rulers of such tender memory? Who could so satisfy the pride of race, strengthen the popularity of the court with the people, answer the demands of the political situation, and link the distant succession to the triumphs of the present?

The problem was solved in the formal

adoption of Augustin, one of Iturbide's grandsons, born in Washington in 1863. The selection was received with great favor by the Mexicans ; and the titles of princess and prince were conferred upon Josefa and the child to whom the empire should descend. Even then the empress seemed to have a premonition of the end, and of the vain appeal of Maximilian's *protégé* to the charity of Hapsburg house, since in writing to the Austrian Empress, Augusta, she used these prophetic words : " Now I consider my being childless as a blessing from heaven, for I already foresee an orphan in this prince."

In her mission to Yucatan, and in the nomination of an heir to the throne, the diplomatic skill and political sagacity of the empress were clearly shown ; but she has left, in one of her letters, another striking illustration of her accurate judgment of men and measures, and of her personal force in the government policy.

In the minds of Pius IX., Labastida, Almonte, and other clerical leaders, the cardinal motive of the intervention was the restoration to the Church of her estates and revenues confiscated under the civil war decrees.

They rejoiced in the selection of Maximilian and Carlotta as rulers, believing that they would annul the laws of reform and reinstate the clergy in their former power, tithes, and emoluments ; but the emperor, on their appeal, refused to order the return of the secularized properties, save upon satisfactory compensation to the civil owners and allottees. This action was indispensable to the financial support of the government, and the necessary outcome of the emperor's policy to cultivate loyalty in the Liberal ranks, and lead all parties to recognize the virtue of Napoleon's aphorism : "*The empire means peace.*" The contest reached a climax in the emperor's letter to the Mexican bishops, in December, 1864, in which he said :

"You must admit, venerable prelates, that the Mexican Church, by a deplorable fatality, has meddled too much with politics and temporal affairs, and neglected too persistently the Catholic education of her children. It is true that the Mexicans are pious and good ; but the larger portion of the people are not yet Catholics in an evangelical sense. This is not owing to its own faults, but to the negligence of others. The Mexicans must be enlightened ; the sacrament must be administered to them, as it is ordained in the Evangelists, gratuitously. You may doubt, if you will, the sincerity of my faith in

the Catholic religion ; but all Europe has long known my opinions. Still, however good a Catholic I may be, I shall also be a just and liberal Prince."

Carlotta had taken a leading part in the discussion of this great question, in the council of state and out of it ; and, writing to a friend in Paris, January, 1865, hiding the depth of her feeling under a veil of pleasantry, she said :

"I do not know if you are aware that the Pope, who has a sprightly disposition, often says of himself that he is a *jettatore*. It is certain, however, that ever since his envoy set foot on our land we have only experienced bitter mortifications ; and we are in expectation of others not less numerous in future. Energy and perseverance I believe we have ; but I ask myself, if difficulties of this kind continue, whether it will be possible to overcome them. That is, in truth, the actual state of things. The clergy, mortally offended by the letter of December 27, is not to be easily overcome. All the old abuses combine to evade the orders of the Emperor regarding them. In this, perhaps, there is no fanaticism ; but there is in it such steady and manœuvring tenacity that I believe it impossible for the persons who now compose the body of the clergy to adopt any other system. The question is what is to be done with them. When Napoleon III. obtained from the Pope the dismissal of the emigrant Bishops they were living abroad, and as they were holy persons they were resigned. Those whom we have here would readily leave their sees, but not their revenues. A salary from the State would

not be an equivalent; and their ideal is to live in Europe in the possession of money, while we are struggling here to establish the position of the Church. There is to be a revision of the Church property sold—a second apple of discord; for in consequence of acknowledging the reformed laws, we have brought the Conservatives upon us. Now we are going to have upon our shoulders the Liberals and the allottees. As there can be but one weight and one measure for all, those who have been guilty of illegal operations must give up their gains; and I am afraid that this work of reparation and of justice will excite as much passion as the loss of their property did in regard to the clergy. . . . During the last month we have been passing through a very sharp crisis. If we pass through it successfully, the future of the Mexican Empire may be brilliant; if not, I do not know what we must expect from it. . . . It is Nothing that will not have itself dethroned. Perhaps you would believe with me that Nothing is a manageable substance, because it is nothing; on the contrary, you come against it at every step in this country, and it is of more solid granite than almost all the forces of the human mind. The pyramids would be less difficult to raise than the Mexican Nothing to be overcome. However, everything here would be of secondary importance were it not for the main fact that the army is diminishing, and with it the material force of the Government. I am ever afraid that we are grasping the shadow for the substance. No doubt the Corps Legislatif in France will speak out, but that will be nothing more or less than sounding speeches. Here, however, it is facts which can compromise the success of the work which France has

founded, and which is destined to bear the name of Napoleon III. to future generations. It is very well to say, as is said in the English Parliament, 'Mexico is in really such good order that it does not need any help'; but for my part I prefer keeping to realities. In order to civilize this country it is necessary to be complete master of it, and in order to get elbow room it is necessary constantly to realize its strength in great battalions. This is an argument which is not disputed. All strength which cannot be realized, such as prestige, skill, popularity, enthusiasm, has only a conventional value: these are resources which rise and fall—troops are indispensable. Austrians and Belgians are very good in times of calm, but let tempest come and they are only red trousers. If I may tell you all my thoughts, I believe it will be very difficult for us to pass through all the first vital crises if the country be not more occupied than it is. Everything is much scattered; and it seems to me that instead of recalling anything, it is perhaps essential to augment."

"It is my duty conscientiously to wield the sceptre of authority, and with firmness the sword of honor. My strength rests in God and in your loyal confidence." It was in these words that Maximilian and Carlotta saluted the people they had been called to rule; and it cannot be successfully questioned, that they devoted themselves, in a sincere and chivalric spirit, to these great purposes; and it seems fitting, while the clouds that at last shut down

upon their lives were unseen, to mark what they had accomplished.

The Republican troops had been defeated; Juarez and his followers had been driven to the northern frontier; and, save partisan bodies acting at a few distant points, the military occupation of the country was complete. Formal acts of adhesion from cities and provinces had been given; Mexican statesmen and politicians, loyal to the country and hopeful for its prosperity under the empire, were in its service in all capacities, from the cabinet to the ordinary posts, in civil, ecclesiastical, and military administration; and thousands of volunteers, from the Liberals and from the civilians, had enlisted in the imperial army. Commerce, trade, agriculture, science, art, all the economic forces and powers that blossom and bear fruit only in the sunshine of peace, found impulse and development under the protection and wise policy of the government; national improvements were begun in many directions; railroads, steamer, and telegraph lines were opened; colonization schemes were in operation; immigration on a great scale was devised; and, in a year and a half from the emperor's arrival, Mexico had opened a new

era in her history ; her rulers had won the respect and confidence of a large proportion of their people ; the initial problems of government seemed well settled ; and something of the grandeur and strength of Hapsburg House was reflected in the reign of Maximilian I. of Mexico.

CHAPTER VI.

Attitude of United States—Non-recognition—Congressional action—Stevens, Sumner, Seward—Diplomacy—Declarations to England, France, Austria, and Mexico—Instructions to Minister to France—Monroe doctrine—Correspondence with French Minister of War—Recall of French troops—Causes—Gen'l Schofield's mission to France—Seward's ultimatum—Activity of Liberals—Order for retreat of French and Austrians—Liberal victories—General Grant's order—Sheridan—Demonstrations on Mexican frontier—Change in diplomatic relations—United States minister to Mexico—Campbell—Instructions—General Sherman's mission—Seward's policy effective.

AT this historic period—in the close of the year 1865—when the empire, whose perpetuity had been guaranteed by France, Austria, and Belgium, reached the zenith of its glory and prosperity, it is important to recall some of the incidents in the action of our government during the intervention and foreign occupation, and note some of the initial causes which at last forced Louis Napoleon to abandon one of his most cherished schemes, deny the prayers of Carlotta, and leave Maximilian to the mercy of a Mexican court-martial.

In May, 1864, when Maximilian ascended the throne, he made known the fact of his accession to all the great powers of the world, who immediately recognized the empire, sent ministers to reside at his court, and received ministers from him to reside at their capitals. The United States took no notice of the communication. But now the situation had wholly changed. Appomattox had been won ; slavery was dead ; the civil war was ended ; the republic was saved ; and among the questions of the new peace, scarcely less potent than those of reconstruction, was the standing menace to our liberties by this new empire in the south. What of this Austrian autocrat, with forty thousand veterans from the battle-fields of Europe at his call, destroying the republic, and setting up in its stead, at the bid of a faction, a monarchy, created and maintained by European coalitions ? It is possible that during the long civil war the American people had not fully realized the significance of that naked usurpation ; but the eyes of their statesmen had been fixed with ceaseless watchfulness on the danger of the intervention.

In the thirty-ninth Congress, persistent efforts were made by Stevens, Schenck, and

other leaders, to induce Congress to appropriate thirty millions of dollars for the cause of the Mexican republic ; or, in other words, to authorize the government to endorse certain Juarist bonds to that amount. These bonds were utterly worthless, and the endorser would be called upon to pay them. The scheme never received approval ; but its agitation served the purpose for which the friends of the Juarists had introduced it. Congress had called, from time to time, by resolution and inquiry, for some definite explanation from the French government of its purpose in Mexico ; and at last, under the leadership of McDougal and Stevens, formally condemned the invasion and the establishment of the empire. But the committee on foreign affairs, with Sumner at its head, and Seward, with his negotiations and protocols and diplomatic definitions, waited and temporized, until Grant questioned their policy, and Sheridan uttered his fiery protests against the seeming indifference and inaction.

To the time of his actual declaration of war upon Mexico, after the conference of the allies at Orizaba, the entire course of Louis Napoleon was one of misrepresentation and deceit

toward the nations interested in the intervention. In the London Treaty his actual purpose was wholly concealed ; and when he declared war, he assured our government that he sought only redress for grievances ; that France did not intend to occupy or dominate in Mexico ; and that the Mexican people should have a free choice of institutions of government. But the master in diplomacy in the cabinet of Lincoln was not deceived. His policy, from necessity, was one of negotiation, of delay, of apparent disregard of public sentiment ; but it was victorious. It saved us from war with foreign powers until our own safety was assured and we were ready to challenge the right or power of France or her allies to establish an empire in the Americas.

Certain passages in the diplomatic correspondence between Washington and Paris, to the time of the demand for the withdrawal of the French troops, will present the essential points in a clear light. In various letters to their respective representatives, Mr. Seward, at an early date, declared our attitude toward the intervention, to England, France, Austria, and Mexico, instructing our ministers to England and France to remonstrate against the recep-

tion of the Confederate agents, refusing their proffer of neutrality, and expressing "the desire of the United States that peaceful relations might be restored between France and Mexico upon a basis just to both parties, and favorable to the independence and sovereignty of the Mexican people"; and this was his main contention :

"We have a right to insist that France shall not improve the war she makes to raise up in Mexico an anti-republican or anti-American government, or to maintain such a government there.

"The United States lament the war which has arisen between the republic of Mexico and France. Since it has unhappily occurred, however, they can act in regard to it only on the principles which have always governed their conduct in similar cases.

"When France made war against Mexico, we asked explanations of her objects and purposes; and she answered that it was a war for the redress of grievances; that she did not intend permanently to occupy or dominate in Mexico; and that she would leave to the people of Mexico a free choice of institutions of government. Under these circumstances the United States adopted, and they have since maintained, entire neutrality between the belligerents, in harmony with the traditional policy in regard to foreign wars."

When the professed election by the Mexican people, upon the decree of the Assembly of

Notables, in 1863, was pending, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs intimated to our minister in Paris that "an early acknowledgment of the proposed empire by the United States would be convenient to France, by relieving her, sooner than might be possible under such circumstances, from her troublesome complications in Mexico." To this suggestion Mr. Seward replied :

" Happily, the French government has not been left uninformed, that, in the opinion of the United States, the permanent establishment of a foreign and monarchical government will be found neither easy nor desirable. . . . The United States continue to regard Mexico as the theatre of a war which has not yet ended in the subversion of the government long existing there, with which the United States remain in the relation of peace and sincere friendship ; and that for this reason the United States are not at liberty to consider the question of recognizing a government which, in the further chances of war, may come into its place."

And the one great fundamental idea and purpose underlying all diplomatic courses was concisely stated in Mr. Seward's letter to our minister to France, in April, 1864 :

" I remain now firm as heretofore in the opinion that the destinies of the American continent are not to be

permanently controlled by any political arrangement that can be made in the capitals of Europe."

As a matter of fact our government never made any official declaration to invite *public* attention to the relations with Mexico, until after the close of the civil war ; and it was not until the 6th of December, 1865, that it defined its exact policy and position to the French minister in the following communication :

" Republican and domestic institutions on this continent are deemed most congenial with and most beneficial to the United States. Where the people of any country, like Brazil now, or Mexico in 1822, have voluntarily established and acquiesced in monarchical institutions of their own choice, free from all foreign control or intervention, the United States do not refuse to maintain relations with such governments, or seek through propagandism, by force or intrigue, to overthrow those institutions. (On the contrary, where a nation has established institutions republican and domestic, similar to our own, the United States assert in their behalf that no foreign nation can rightfully intervene by force to subvert republican institutions and establish those of an antagonistical character."

This was a definition of the Monroe doctrine which brooked no qualification. The temporizing policy of the government, its delicate negotiations upon questions of inter-

national law, its discussion of precedent and principles, its conservative modes of expression and action, were all found compatible with justice and honor, when the hour came for the formal demand upon Louis Napoleon to withdraw his troops from Mexico, and write "Failure" across what he himself had named "The brightest page in the history of my reign."

The problems of state, south of the Rio Grande, of necessity awaited the solution of the critical question which those apt scholars, Grant and Sherman, were striving to work out within our own borders. The march to Mexico could wait for the "March to the Sea." Already the voices of the storm that should burst at Sadowa were heard in the courts of Berlin and Vienna, and the man of destiny must arm for this golden opportunity "to rectify the frontiers of France," and French honor must be vindicated, French patriotism must have satisfaction, and the imperial traditions must ripen into fruitage across the Rhine. The empire must recall its veterans from Mexico, reorganize its army, and husband its resources for the coming struggle.

These were the causes at home, say the advocates of intervention, that made the evacuation of Mexico imperative, according to the secret treaty between Napoleon and Maximilian, and consistent with the dignity and honor of France. Grant all this to the claims of the French, and still history, in its impartial survey of the facts, follows the logic of events, and finds the key to Napoleon's abandonment of Maximilian, not in the councils or necessities of state at Paris, so much as in the emphatic demands at Washington.

Finally, in the autumn of 1865, owing in great measure to the vigorous presentation of the views of the government by General Schofield, who had been sent to France by the state department on a special diplomatic mission, "resulting in the preservation of peace rather than in a conflict of arms," Louis Napoleon was led to suggest a willingness to retire from Mexico, but that it would be inconvenient to do so without first receiving from the United States an assurance of a friendly or a tolerant disposition toward the power which had assumed to itself an imperial form in that country and had received swift recognition from its royal sympathizers. The only

answer made to this overture was this,—that while friendship with France had always been deemed important and peculiarly agreeable by the American people, they could enter into no stipulations contrary to their traditional policy of neutrality or non-intervention as to the new government of Mexico.

And the pith of the whole matter is given in the dispatch of Mr. Seward to the French minister, February 12, 1866 :

“The United States have not seen any satisfactory evidence that the people of Mexico have spoken, and have called into being, or accepted, the so-called empire, which it is insisted has been set up in their capital. The withdrawal of the French forces is deemed necessary to allow such a proceeding to be taken by Mexico. Of course the Emperor of France is entitled to determine the aspect in which the Mexican situation ought to be regarded by him. Nevertheless, the view which I have thus presented is the one which this nation has accepted. It therefore recognizes, and must continue to recognize in Mexico, only the ancient republic ; and it can in no case consent to involve itself, either directly or indirectly, in relation with or recognition of the institution of the Prince Maximilian in Mexico. Under these circumstances it has happened, either rightfully or wrongfully, that the presence of European armies in Mexico, maintaining a European prince with imperial attributes, without her consent and against her will, is deemed a source of appre-

hension and danger, not alone to the United States, but also to all the independent and sovereign republican States founded on the American continent and its adjacent islands. . . .

“The United States rest content with submitting to France the exigencies of an embarrassing situation in Mexico, and expressing the hope that France may find some manner which shall at once be consistent with her interest and honor, and with the principles and interest of the United States, to relieve that situation without injurious delay.”

This was diplomacy, with a million of veterans from the fields of the civil war behind it, and there could well be but one answer.

But the Emperor even then undertook to temporize, and postpone the departure of the first detachment of French in November, 1866, until the next spring ; but a peremptory demand restored the agreement for evacuation. It was in these memorable words of a soldier, rather than of a diplomat, that Mr. Seward delivered the ultimatum :

“The Emperor’s decision to modify the existing arrangement without any understanding with the United States, so as to leave the whole French army in Mexico for the present, instead of withdrawing one detachment in November current, as promised, is now found in every way inconvenient and exceptionable. We cannot acquiesce, first, because the term ‘next spring,’ as appointed

for the entire evacuation, is indefinite and vague ; and, second, because we have no authority for stating to Congress and to the American people that we have now a better guarantee for the withdrawal of the whole expeditionary force in the spring than we have heretofore had for the withdrawal of a part in November ; third, in full reliance upon at least a literal performance of the Emperor's existing agreement, we have taken measures, while facilitating the anticipated French evacuation, to co-operate with the republican government of Mexico for promoting the pacification of that country, and for the early and complete restoration of the proper constitutional authority of that government. The President sincerely hopes and expects that the evacuation of Mexico will be carried into effect with such conformity to the existing agreement as the inopportune complication which calls for this dispatch shall allow. Instructions will be issued to the United States military forces of observation to await in every case special directions from the President. This will be done with a confident expectation that the telegraph or the mail may seasonably bring us a satisfactory resolution from the Emperor in reply to this note."

But there were other potent forces to compel the withdrawal of the French troops. Juarez knew the temper of his countrymen, and envired though he was, virtually imprisoned in one small town upon the sea-shore, at one time when the foreign domination seemed complete, his influence reached the most re-

mote districts of the interior ; and although the armies of the Imperialists nominally held the country from sea to sea, at many points detachments of the Liberals kept their organization, and inspired by the new promises of liberty he set forth, in which he scarcely veiled the hope of armed assistance from the United States, they maintained themselves with a tenacity of purpose that made total defeat impossible. Beaten in one quarter, they appeared in another, claiming the excuse of necessity for acts of rapine and cruelty in the satisfaction of personal enmities, and the barbarous deeds, which make the history of that time a continual record of horrors. Had example been necessary, they would have found it in the merciless execution of the imperial decree ; but, in truth, it was a time when all rules of civilized warfare were set aside, when patriot and traitor, soldier and bandit, became indistinguishable at many points in the struggle for the mastery.

The beginning of the end, from a military point of view, came in July, 1865, with the defeat of the Austrian troops at Monterey, and the capture of the seaport town of Matamoras by the Liberals, and shortly afterwards the

evacuation of all the North followed upon the victories of Escobedo and his generals. The order for the retreat southward of the French and Austrian troops, in early August, 1866, was the signal for the union of all the Liberal forces in a renewed attempt to expel the armies of the empire. The campaign of retreat and pursuit was brief ; and with skirmishes and engagements, many in number and desperate in character, the invaders were put on the defensive, driven into the valley of Mexico, and the contest culminated at Queretaro in the siege that resulted in its capitulation May 19, 1867.

Grant scarcely waited for the surrender at Appomattox before he hastened to carry to a practical end his personal opinion, that the French intervention was so closely allied to the rebellion as to be a part of it. He had declared at City Point, in 1864, to members of his staff, that, as soon as we had disposed of the Confederates, we must begin with the Imperialists ; and his order to Sheridan, in May, 1865, was the opening of the campaign. Sheridan, with Wright and Canby, and Custer and Reynolds, McKenzie and Steele, as commanders, and fifty thousand veterans, were charged

with the ostensible duty of restoring Texas and part of Louisiana to the Union, "in the shortest possible time, in a way most effectual for securing permanent peace." Grant issued the order upon his own responsibility, but its real purpose was to drive the French and Austrians out of Mexico. His policy was one of action, of invasion if need be, and union with the Mexican Liberal forces in their campaign against the empire.

Even then Seward's policy was one of negotiation. The French minister wrote the authorities at Washington that our forces on the Rio Grande were acting in opposition to the cordial assurances of good-will toward his government ; and Sheridan was at once charged to observe a strict neutrality ; and the feeling with which he received this instruction he bluntly expresses in his recent memoirs : "After this it required the patience of Job to abide the slow and poky methods of our state department." But the gallant commander's methods were neither slow nor poky. He made demonstrations on the lower Rio Grande ; demanded the return of war materials turned over to the Imperialists by ex-Confederates ; opened communications with Juarez ; massed

troops at San Antonio, creating the belief that he would at once invade Mexico ; stopped the exodus of Confederates across the frontier to join the Imperialists, and the transportation of arms and supplies ; prohibited emigration from all the seaports within his command ; checked the schemes of Magruder, Price, Maury, and other rebels of distinction, who had joined Maximilian, induced by grants of lands and peons to till them, as in the good old slavery days, by patents and titles of nobility and high military rank ; arrested the old conspirator, Ortega, at Brazos, Texas, and handed him over to Escobedo, Juarez's representative ; and, acting under Grant's instructions, he secretly supplied the Liberal forces with materials and arms, sending thirty thousand muskets from the Baton Rouge arsenal alone. Sheridan's diplomacy needed no interpreter. His code was battle ; his logic, a cavalry charge ; his peace was born of victory ; and it was understood from El Paso to Vera Cruz, that, if occasion offered, he would make the same answer to any challenge that he made to Lincoln's message at Five Forks, and "press things."

But the military operations were given a deeper significance to the watchful Imperialists

by an opportune act of our government. In November, 1866, the United States changed its diplomatic tactics, and appointed a minister "accredited to the republican government of Mexico, of which Mr. Juarez was President." Our minister was advised, among other matters, that :

"There are some principles which may be safely laid down in regard to the policy which the government will expect you to pursue. The first of these is, that, as a representative of the United States, you are accredited to the republican government of Mexico, of which Mr. Juarez is President. Your communications, as such representative, will be made to him, wheresoever he may be ; and, in no event, will you officially recognize either the Prince Maximilian, who claims to be Emperor, or any other person, chief, or combination, as exercising the executive authority in Mexico, without having first reported to this department. . . . It may possibly happen that the President of the Republic of Mexico may desire the good offices of the United States, or even some effective proceedings on our part, to favor and advance the pacification of a country so long distracted by foreign combined with civil war, and thus gain time for the re-establishment of national authority upon principles consistent with a republican and domestic system of government. It is possible, moreover, that some disposition might be made of the land and naval forces of the United States, without interfering within the jurisdiction of Mexico, or violating the laws of neutrality, which

would be useful in favoring the restoration of law, order, and republican government in that country. The Lieutenant-General of the United States Army possesses already discretionary authority as to the location of the forces of the United States in the vicinity of Mexico. His military experience will enable him to advise you concerning such questions as may arise during the transition stage of Mexico from a state of military siege by a foreign enemy to a condition of practical self-government. At the same time it will be in his power, being near the scene of action, to issue any orders which may be expedient or necessary for maintaining the obligations resting upon the United States in regard to proceedings upon the borders of Mexico. For these reasons he has been requested and instructed by the President to proceed with you to your destination, and act with you as an adviser, recognized by this department, in regard to the matters which have been herein discussed."

The commissioners, Mr. Campbell and General Sherman, sailed from New York about the 10th of November, 1866, and after spending a few days at Havana, to learn, if possible, some reliable news of the real condition of affairs in Mexico, arrived off Vera Cruz on the evening of the 29th. Mr. Campbell was not a trained diplomatist, and found the state of affairs such that he could not carry out his instructions and open negotiations with the Liberal government. General

Sherman ridiculed the peaceful intentions of his associate, was impatient of all tentative methods, and gave free expression to his opinions in a characteristic letter to his brother, Senator Sherman: "We have nearly completed the circle without finding Juarez, who is about as far away as ever, up in Chihuahua, for no other possible purpose than to be where the devil himself cannot get at him."

"Sherman and Campbell," says a correspondent of the time, "pulled together from the start like a baulky team. Each had separate instructions, and each claimed to rank the other. On the arrival of the *Susquehanna* at Vera Cruz, Sherman, it seems, was for accepting Bazaine's invitation and going straight to Mexico City. Campbell strongly opposed the suggestion, on the ground that he was accredited to Juarez only, and had nothing to do with Bazaine, Castelnau, or any one outside the republic of Mexico. This argument at last prevailed; but not till after a somewhat stormy discussion, in the course of which personal allusions to kid-gloved aides-de-camp and legation secretaries had been pretty freely interchanged."

The mission failed of its practical purpose, but served a higher one in its moral effect upon the situation. The proclamation of the President, declaring void Maximilian's decree closing the ports of Matamoras, the mission of General Schofield, the emphatic declarations

of our government, the appointment of a minister accredited to the Mexican republic, with Sherman at Vera Cruz, and Sheridan and his army on the Rio Grande, brought to bear the pressure our authorities resolved to evince, without the necessity of actual interference by force of arms. American diplomacy, read in the light of the history of our army and navy, at the close of the civil war commanded profound respect, even in the mind of as good a hater of the liberty of the people as Louis Napoleon.

CHAPTER VII.

The crisis—Napoleon's envoy—Guaranties broken—France to withdraw—Carlotta's ambition—Her mission to Europe—Appeal to Napoleon—Its refusal—At Miramar—Visit to Rome—Interviews with the Pope—Failure of her mission—Insanity—Maximilian's efforts to save the empire—National army—Coalition with Church party—Former relations—Overtures of Clerical leaders—News of Carlotta's fate—Maximilian's illness—At Orizaba—Arrival of Miramon and Marquez—Their characteristics—Abdication—Vacillation—Council opinions—Resolution to remain—Congress of Notables—Imperial proclamation—Gift of the Bishops—Popular support—Government and Church party.

WHEN Napoleon could no longer evade the issues so pointedly defined at Washington, and emphasized by the military demonstrations, and, through his special envoy, Saillard, he notified Maximilian of his purpose to withdraw the French troops, it was Carlotta who first realized the peril of the empire, and its inability to stand alone.

Early in January, 1866, she returned from her visit to the distant provinces, bearing their pledges of loyalty and good-will. She had scarcely reached the capital when she received

the sorrowful tidings of the death of her father, King Leopold, whom she loved almost to adoration. In all her lifetime she had leaned upon him for counsel, for confidence, for guidance in all her emergencies ; and now, in the hour of her supreme need, he had fallen. But the grief of the daughter, the sorrow for her irreparable loss, must yield to the necessities of rule, to the questions of state that demanded instant attention.

The "guaranties of peace," so readily promised in the secret treaty at Paris in 1863, had proved worthless in the march of events, when France was arming for intervention or defense in the coming struggle between Austria and Prussia ; Sheridan and his veterans on the Rio Grande were impatient for the signal to cross the frontier ; the imperial treasury was empty ; no further loans could be made in the European exchanges ; and conspiracy and revolution, with Bazaine as the central figure, were ripening even in the cabinet and council. The emperor was unequal to the situation. He was better fitted for a scholarly life than the rugged discipline of the camp and battlefield, or the perils of political agitation ; for the triumphs of peace than the storms of war.

He was vacillating when decision alone could serve, and led hither and thither by the last plausible scheme of his councillors of state, or the device of some trusted but visionary friend.

The confidence of the emperor, the adulation of courtiers, the specious suggestions of the politicians, the protestations of the Church party leaders, the threats of the revolutionists, did not mislead the empress in her judgment or her resolution. It was her dream, her ambition, her life, to wear a crown: and the loss of it was intolerable. She had a soldier's heart, and a statesman's head; and with the courage of the one, and the wisdom of the other, she faced the situation. No man at the imperial court—courtier, soldier, politician, statesman—had the qualities to serve in this emergency. There was but one solution of the problem, and that was to secure money and men to maintain the government. There was but one tribunal to which an appeal could be made,—the honor of Napoleon, and, in the last event, to the pride of Hapsburg House and the sympathy of the Pope. Were not his sovereign promise, the near reality of his vision of union of the Latin races, the peril of the life and fortune of his royal brother, and the

restoration to the Church of its former splendor and power in its ancient see, still infallible means to win the hearts of their majesties and His Holiness to the support, the final triumph, of the "empire of the west"? Were not all these motives more potent, in this crisis, than in the halcyon days of the temptation to kingly renown at Miramar? Almonte, the most trusted man in the outset of the intervention, it is true had failed in this very errand; but could denial be made in the winning presence of Carlotta?

It was at last decided that she should undertake the great mission alone; and in July, 1866, she set out on her journey, having chosen as her companions the minister of state, two chamberlains of the royal household, a lady of honor, and her physician. The emperor accompanied the party from the capital down to Rio Frio, and there said farewell to the empress, who asked the prayers of her friends while absent, closing her request with the prophetic words, "I shall need them."

On her arrival in France she hastened to Paris and sought an audience with Napoleon. He had been duly apprised of her coming, but many vexatious and intentional delays were

interposed, and it was not until August 24th that this brave but despairing woman forced an opportunity for a final discussion of the situation. She had already presented the memorial of Maximilian for the continuance of the guaranties solemnly pledged in the treaty of Paris; and now she urged, in person, the demands of honor and justice, that more men and more money should be furnished, and the mighty machinery of state be put in motion to save the empire from ruin. Prayers, appeals, tears, were alike useless. France could make but one answer. Napoleon dare not recall or modify his pledge to withdraw his troops at a certain date; war with the United States, in a critical period of affairs at home, was the certain outcome of an affirmative, and he declined the empress's request.

The story of that last interview has not been written. It is hidden in the secrets of state at London, Paris, and Vienna; in the silence of the burial crypt at Farnborough; in the night of madness that still enshrouds the mind of Carlotta; and in the sorrowful memories of Sedan that embitter the life of the Empress of France. To the world "the desperate adventurer of Cologne," as Von Moltke calls

Louis Napoleon, was a cold, hard, unimpassioned man ; but in truth he was sympathetic, and even his soul must have been awakened by the entreaties of Carlotta, who had listened to his voice, who had trusted his good faith, and now, with his very promises to her husband in her hands, battled for his honor and his life, and to all arguments, to all reasons of state, could at last plead nothing but his danger and her own heart's anguish. To have seen such distress, to have known that he had been in great part its cause, must have stirred even the spirit that was unmoved amid the carnage on the night of the *coup d'état*, in the blasting artillery fire at Magenta, and the charges of the victorious Prussians that changed the history of France.

The decision fell with terrible force ; and the first thought of Carlotta was to fly from the scene of her defeat, to recover herself, to gain new courage, to devise new plans, to arm for a new struggle, to invite, nay, compel the assistance once so freely tendered and now so utterly denied. What place so dear to her, what vision of peace so sweet, as the home of her former happiness—Miramar ? Once there, her mind turned from the scenes

hallowed by so many tender memories, to her husband in that distant land,—a trembling figure amid the shadows of conspiracy and revolution ; and her final resolution was soon taken. King Leopold was dead, and Belgium was powerless to answer her appeal ; Austria looked coldly on the necessities of the prince who had renounced his right to her succession, and France had cancelled the solemn obligations of her treaty. There was still one hope of high promise to her soul. She would go to Rome, claim the good offices of the “visible chief of the Church,” the servant of the servants of God, and appeal to his humanity, to his sense of duty. She could not be made to realize how impotent were his temporal powers, and how impossible of performance were the deeds she would commit to his hands. Says a critic of the time, of her errand :

“As a king the Pope was a nonentity to all but the people of the Roman States ; his opinion on temporal affairs, beyond that narrow circle, was worth nothing. His advice, even, was of no account among his brother sovereigns. As a man, he could but sympathize with the woes of an innocent woman ; as an old man he could but address words of paternal love and pity to the comparative child that bent sorrowfully, and yet not altogether hopelessly, before him. As a priest, he could but ad-

minister to her those consolations of religion which the humblest village pastor would have afforded, but which, coming from the lips of the head of the Church, would have more than usual influence and authority in leading her thoughts to that other world, the least of whose joys are worth more than the whole dominion and lordship of this."

In the study of the situation at Miramar, the critical review of the causes of failure at Paris, of the dispatches and suggestions from Mexico and from various sources in Europe, of the questions of state relations with the powers, and in the analysis of the factors that made for and against the success of her errand, no mind was more alert in its search, more capable of true discrimination, more fertile in resource, and seemingly more unerring in decision, than Carlotta's. And yet, behind the calmness of her demeanor, the wisdom of her judgments, there lay her terrible anxiety, the intolerable thought of the loss of her crown; and these gave color to all her actions, and led to an implicit faith in the triumph of her cause at Rome.

The journey was undertaken in October. In all the large towns the empress was greeted with salutes of artillery, the ringing of bells,

songs and cheers, and other tokens of enthusiasm and sympathy. Most welcome to her were these voices of the people, as they seemed prophecies of good fortune. As the special train assigned to the empress and her suite stopped at one of the stations, she frightened her companions by saying quietly, but with great emphasis : " I will not go to Rome. I am afraid they will poison me there. I will go back to Miramar." She at once began to talk again in her usual manner and tone ; and, while every word and gesture was noted with deep anxiety, no other sign that her burden had been too sorrowful to bear, was then given. At the Papal court she was received with great ceremony and honor. Many persons of different nationalities tendered assurances of their respect and sympathy, and she won their admiration by her queenly dignity and grace, and the ease and accuracy with which she addressed them in their several languages.

In the evening of the fourth day after her arrival, she suddenly informed one of her most trusted friends, with caution as to secrecy, that Napoleon had hired three of her suite, including her physician, to poison her, and a moment later she charged the friend herself with being

one of the parties to the scheme. She ordered that none of the suspected persons should be admitted to her presence, and prayed their arrest of the Mexican minister and Cardinal Antonelli. In a final audience at the Vatican, she entreated protection from her enemies, of the Pope, and insisted that there only was she safe from the designs of the poisoners. The delusion had taken complete possession of her mind, increased each day in its intensity, and, with many pitiable symptoms, culminated in a refusal to taste any food or drink unless purchased by herself in the streets, or prepared in her presence by a trusted attendant. The most skilful medical treatment, the most devoted service, failed in their merciful and hopeful purposes, and in the last days of October the empress was taken in charge by her mother and other members of her family, and returned again to Miramar, and afterward, in the trust of improvement, to the home and scenes of her youth, where, in the shadow of her infirmity, she still waits for the emperor's coming, and in some fleeting vision of the past may say :

“ Bitter and sweet beyond comparison

The memories of Love's harvest-field I keep ;

God gave us certain sunny hours to reap,
And this at parting when the day was done :—
The moon cast both our shadows into one,
Orion lay aslant along the steep ;
All night, you said, with folded hands I sleep
At times like these, when days are halcyon.
Then at that word—I knew not how or why—
There came as from some dreamland leagues away,
Dim presage of a not far distant day,
When 'neath the same stars I should see you lie,
That smiling face turned silent to the sky,
And those fair fingers clasped as cold as clay."

ROSSETTI.

All that love, ambition, and the imperial qualities of true womanhood could do to save the empire had been done ; and the mission of the empress was over.

On her departure from Mexico, Maximilian was left to face the embarrassments and perils that menaced his government alone. It was a task for statesmanship, for the mastery of conflicting forces in the end, but for the time being, one of negotiation, of expedients, until the welcome tidings of relief should come. When Baron Saillard, Napoleon's special envoy, made known to Maximilian, in March, 1866, his purpose to withdraw the French troops, Bazaine hastened to issue the orders for evacuation ; in the distant provinces the

retreat had already begun ; Juarez had moved his " seat of government " up from the American frontier to Chihuahua ; gloom and anxiety reigned in the court, and conspiracy in the council of state.

If the final answer of Napoleon should be favorable, all might be well ; but if unfavorable, the emperor could rely, for a continuance of his reign, only upon a reorganization of the army, or upon a coalition with the Church party, whose leaders he had so grievously offended. One of the favorite projects of Maximilian was the organization of a national army, which should be essentially Mexican ; and when notified of the probable departure of the French, the arrangements for such an organization were pushed with great vigor. Permission had been given to the French and Austrian officers and men, who chose to do so, to volunteer in the Mexican army, and nearly eight thousand men, of all arms, signified their intention to serve under the imperial flag ; and Maximilian had counted upon having an effective force of at least thirty-five thousand men, by the date of the final departure of the French. High official rank, distinguished titles, glittering decorations, and promises of ample pay,

attracted many men of ability and experience, including Magruder, Shelby, and other Confederate officers, who thought foreign residence desirable after the surrender of Lee and Johnston. Twenty-six thousand native Mexicans, and the volunteers,—French, Austrians, and men of all nations,—were the incongruous elements to be massed and disciplined, and which were to constitute the standing army of the empire. This was one of the young ruler's tasks, one of his means to self-preservation, in his lonely vigils at Chapultepec.

But there was a more serious problem. The most brilliant advocates of the French intervention in Mexico, the men who induced Maximilian to accept the crown, were the Mexican clerical refugees at Paris—Estrada, Almonte, Miramon, and their associates,—men devoted to the Church, fertile in all expedients, and sworn to recover the ecclesiastical and political supremacy, and the power the Church had lost first to the Liberals, and later to the empire. It was their belief that none could be more faithful to their cause than the devoted Catholics at Miramar. They believed that on his accession the emperor would at once restore to the Church her confiscated properties.

In the enforcement of the decrees passed in Juarez's brief administration, churches and convents had been turned into barracks, military storehouses, and stables; shrines and sanctuaries had been stripped of their gold and silver ornaments and precious stones; lands had been sold at auction, or granted to partisans and speculators; and the host of priests were shorn of the dues they had been accustomed to extort from the people in the whole history of clerical supremacy in Mexico.

In the beginning of his reign, the clergy demanded the revocation of the hated decrees and the restitution of the estates. To their astonishment and chagrin, the emperor ordered a commission to inquire into the value, extent, and location of the properties, and the indemnity which ought to be paid to the owners and occupants who had acquired title and possession from the republican government. This action, with an order for a civil list of deaths and marriages, and other limitations of their privileges, exasperated the clergy to such a degree, that they refused the offices of the Church to some of the officers of State and the owners of their former properties, and the sacrament to the dying, unless they declared

their belief that the civil decrees were contrary to law and religion. The emperor was determined, as a matter of state policy, to bring the Church party under the control of the civil law, as well as under the orders of Rome, and so keep a sure political hold upon so powerful a party. He would not make the concessions that were demanded ; and a complete rupture resulted, forcing him to look for support, in the first instance, to the Republican party, which contained many secret enemies, anxious for his downfall and the restoration of a government which would make greater license, and speculation, and plunder possible, and whose leaders despised the transparent attempt to enlist favor by placing prominent Mexicans in the cabinet and household, in place of old friends who came from Europe with the emperor and empress.

No men in Mexico were quicker to see the supreme advantage which Maximilian's necessity now offered, than these ecclesiastical statesmen, who had suffered so much in conscience and pocket at his hands. No men detected sooner the first signs of disaster to the empire, than these loyal sons and soldiers of the Church. They knew the real sentiment

of the people of France ; they had heard the remonstrances of her statesmen against further aid to the empire of Maximilian ; they knew the vigorous condemnation of Napoleon's plan to reorganize the army at home ; they knew the necessity that compelled the Emperor's declaration of an "attentive neutrality" in the struggle between Prussia and Austria, the weakness that compelled him to inaction while the Austrians crushed the Italians at Custozza and forced the recall of the French troops from Rome. They had nothing to hope from the restoration of the republic of Mexico ; and they saw that when Napoleon should abandon his purpose, their chance to secure their coveted rights under a stable government was through Maximilian alone. They were ready to make terms ; but they would make no sign until their watchful emissaries in Paris should advise them that the empire had nothing further to hope from France.

It was in this crisis of affairs that there came the news, first of Carlotta's death at Rome, and later of her insanity. The emperor's first thought was to leave all and go to her relief ; but when he was advised of her real condition, that members of her family were with her, that

physicians in whom he had full confidence were in attendance, and that absolute quiet was necessary to her recovery, he abandoned his purpose. It was clear that the interests of the empire demanded his personal presence in Mexico, at any personal sacrifice; and every energy, every resource, was devoted to the task before him. Intense anxiety for many months, and grief at the empress's fate, overwhelmed him; and in October, 1866, he was prostrated with a severe attack of fever. With little care or hope for the future that now held so little to inspire or cheer, when he had partially recovered he went to Orizaba, that in the pure and bracing air and magnificent scenery of that region he might regain his strength.

“Life crowded on him, and the days that swept
Relentlessly all trust and love from out his heart,
Where could he put his faith, where clasp a hand,
That would not turn against him if occasion called?”

At this juncture Generals Miramon and Marquez arrived from Europe. Miramon's hatred of republicanism, his devotion to the Church party, and his zealous advocacy of foreign intervention while in exile, have been told. He was at this time about thirty-five

years old, youthful in appearance, fluent in speech, of most pleasing manners, bold and dashing in his ideas and plans, and fitted to win the admiration and confidence of the trustful emperor.

Marquez was his counterpart in intrigue, in conspiracy, in ecclesiastical politics; and one of the staff describes him as "a little, dried-up-looking old man, with only one eye, having lost the other by a musket shot from an upper window in a street fight in one of the revolutions; but the one he had left seemed to make up amply for the loss: nothing escaped it. Though very ugly, his face had a look of extreme intelligence. He talked little, but listened a great deal, and before one had fairly viewed him he had taken a comprehensive view of his questioner." In his military career he was the typical Mexican revolutionist, stained with cruelty and dishonor. It was by his orders the prisoners of war, and volunteers to care for the wounded, were massacred at Tacubaya; it was he who wantonly hanged the patriot statesman Ocampo; it was he who ordered La Garde, the chief of police in Mexico, to force a door bearing the seal of the British legation, and appropriated six hundred and twenty thousand

dollars, the property of British bondholders; it was his decree that declared all persons who served in the Liberal cause, in the civil war, worthy of death; it was he who hastened to join the French army of occupation, and who commanded the French rear-guard in the retreat from Puebla; who served the empire as commander-in-chief on the Pacific coast, and finally as the imperial envoy to the Ottoman court,—who now, with his old comrade in arms, tendered their swords to Maximilian in his extremity. These sons of revolution, of action, of double purpose—the restoration of the Church party and Conservatives to power, and promotion of their own ambition,—at once put an end to all the vacillation on the part of the emperor. “Let the French go,” said they; “we want them not; be no longer the tool and puppet of Louis Napoleon; Mexicans will save the empire, and die in the service of your Majesty.”

In the face of General Castlenau’s appeals and Bazaine’s brutal urgency to abdicate; of the Emperor Francis Joseph’s offer to restore the right of succession to the Austrian throne he had formally renounced in 1864; of the oncoming tide of Liberal victories, and Juarez’s

refusal of amnesty ; of the departure of his French allies ; of his former settled resolution to turn the government over to the French commander and leave the empire to its fate ; of his love and sorrow for Carlotta, and his yearning to be with her in her misfortune,—the soul of the young emperor was stirred to its inmost depths ; and with a courage, a heroism that dignifies all his mistakes, and has seldom been equalled in the history of royal lives, he came to an unalterable decision to remain in Mexico and battle for his sovereignty, his honor, and his friends.

He only asked, as needs he must, that the council of ministers should ratify his personal opinion. The council was convoked ; and the emperor laid before it a full statement of the situation, and asked its judgment whether there was any substantial basis for his abdication. The decision of the council was unanimous, that he should remain at the head of the government. This conclusion was upheld by all who were compromised by adhesion to the imperial cause, and who, if the empire failed, would at least suffer confiscation of their land and property, and possibly be hung or shot, in accordance with the traditional Mexican

method, and as very recently illustrated by the victorious Liberals in the treatment of the richest and most prominent of their enemies.

At the final conference at Orizaba, November 24, 1866, the decision was made ; and it was then settled that a congress of all the available Notables should be called to meet at the capital, and determine, as the people's representatives, whether the empire should continue, or some other form of government be adopted. The emperor's purpose and the plans of the council were made known in the following proclamation at Orizaba ; and no one may challenge its sincerity :

“ MEXICANS—Circumstances of great magnitude relating to the welfare of our country, and which increase in strength by our domestic difficulties, have produced in our mind the conviction that we ought to reconsider the power confided to us.

“ Our Council of Ministers, by us convoked, has given as their opinion that the welfare of Mexico still requires our presence at the head of affairs, and we have considered it our duty to accede to their request. We announce at the same time our intention to convoke a national congress on the most ample and liberal basis, where all political parties can participate. This congress shall decide whether the empire shall continue in future, and in case of assent, shall assist in framing the fundamental laws to consolidate the public institutions of the

country. To obtain this result, our counsellors are at present engaged in devising the necessary means, and at the same time in arranging matters in such a manner that all parties may assist in an agreement on that basis.

“In the meantime, Mexicans, counting upon you all, without excluding any political class, we shall continue with courage and constancy the work of regeneration which you have placed in charge of your countryman.”

In this state of affairs the only reliance was upon the Mexicans themselves. They made haste to justify his confidence. For two years they had known the blessings and gathered the fruits of partial peace, and now they stood aghast in the presence of another revolution. The Prefect of Vera Cruz happily expressed the general sentiment, in his proclamation to its citizens :

“One of the greatest events for the good of Mexico has happened, to give renewed life to the nation. His Majesty, the Emperor, who has made so many sacrifices for the well-being and happiness of our distracted country, has given final proof of his consideration for our welfare. He has put aside his duties as a man, for those momentous ones which concern his house as a ruler, and in the present crisis declared solemnly his intention to continue in the front in our defense, to the shedding the last drop of his blood. Let us give thanks to Providence for having saved the integrity of our country, and in the

inmost recesses of our hearts let us hail the resurrection of our nationality."

Pledges of loyalty and support were given by all orders and classes ; merchants furnished the money for immediate use ; volunteers flocked to the army, and the work of reorganization was soon under way.

Now came the opportunity for which the leaders of the Church party had so long waited. They had in no small degree influenced the decision of the imperial council ; they knew that, unless the empire could be sustained, their rights, privileges, and property would be forfeited under the civil-war decrees, with Juarez, their creator to enforce them ; they were well advised that there was no longer any hope of support from any foreign power, and, in his extremity, overtures were made to Maximilian for the adherence and powerful support of the Clergy and Conservative party ; concessions were granted and promised, and the potent energies of the ecclesiastical government were directed to the rescue and maintenance of the empire. The Bishops, as a beginning and guaranty of good faith, gave thirty millions of piasters to the emperor's cause ; the merchants placed twenty-five million dollars at his dis-

posal, and promised an annual subsidy to the imperial exchequer of ten millions more. Maximilian openly and gratefully accepted the aid of the party whose designs he had thwarted and whose power he had defied ; and its interest and his own, in matters of statecraft, became identical. Aside from motives of ambition and honor, one of the governing factors in his decision to remain was the refusal of Juarez to guarantee protection to the Mexicans devoted to the emperor and his cause ; and at his trial, Maximilian, in words that will always mark the true heroism of the man, said : “ I had no course left but to remain and do all in my power to protect a large proportion of the Mexican people.”

CHAPTER VIII.

Return to the capital—Mobilization of troops—Liberal successes—
Desertions by French and Austrians—Bazaine's order—San Jacinto—Marquez's persuasion—Advance to Queretaro—Reception there—The siege—Brilliant feats of arms—Salm-Salm and the Mexican generals—Maximilian's bravery and humanity—Decoration by his officers—Address to citizens of Queretaro—The crisis—Sortie—Lopez—Treachery—Betrayal of Maximilian—Capture of the Cruz—Rally on the Cerro de la Campana—Surrender to Escobedo—Prisoners of war—Order for their execution—Questions involved—Delay secured—Devotion and service of Prince and Princess Salm-Salm—Overtures to Diaz, Escobedo, and Juarez—Attempt to escape—Court-martial granted—Maximilian, Miramon, Mejia—The defense—Verdict of guilty—Sentence of death—Pleas for pardon—Juarez's refusal—Causes.

AFTER a brief visit to the Bishop of Puebla, Maximilian returned to the capital, on the 5th of January, to arrange for the meeting of the Notables to declare the popular opinion as to the form of government. Orders were issued for all the troops to concentrate there, and Marquez was made a general of division, and charged with their mobilization. Miramon had already taken the field to check the onset of the Liberal forces. The question had now

become simply one of military ability and strength.

The story of the gallant struggle to the final contest on the hills at Queretaro is soon written. The French garrisons and outposts were withdrawn, and immediately occupied by the Liberals, whose marches were marked by plunder and assassination, the murder of Imperialists, and nameless atrocities. The main body of the French troops were on the way to the coast for embarkation ; the congress of Notables, owing to the disordered condition of the provinces, could not be convened ; and Bazaine, who was furious at the refusal of the emperor to abdicate, and his own failure to carry out Napoleon's injunction to this end, issued a decree that all Frenchmen who had enlisted in Maximilian's service by His Majesty's permission, on return to their regiments would receive the same rank and pay as before, and join the forces in their departure. Thousands who had sworn allegiance to Maximilian and had received the bounty for enlistment, left his service, and under the protection of the French flag, and under the orders of a marshal of France, openly deserted. Little else could be expected of the horde of adventurers that

made up the foreign contingent. The action of Bazaine made impossible the organization of any considerable force other than from the Mexicans themselves. One third of the imperial army—Frenchmen who had enlisted for two years under very large bounties—returned to the “army of occupation” under this infamous order. The emperor at once issued a decree granting the same privileges to his own countrymen, and a large number left for Europe with the Austrian contingent, with the emperor’s bounty in their pockets.

The order of evacuation by the French forces was the signal for action by the watchful Republicans; and the detachments and guerrilla bands were swiftly reorganized, and, under the command of Escobedo and his generals, undertook to reconquer the fields they had lost. The decisive battle in the field was fought at San Jacinto, where Miramon was defeated with terrible losses; and at Puebla, later, the imperial cause received a fatal blow in the defeat of the garrison and the capture of the city by the forces under Diaz, to whom, after a long siege, and the sacrifice at Queretaro, the capital itself was surrendered, and the triumph of the Liberals made complete.

Miramón and Mejía were finally driven to defence in Querétaro, and it became necessary to determine at what point the final stand for the empire should be made. Military authorities are agreed that if the defense had been made in the City of Mexico, a possible success might have resulted; Díaz could not have brought his heavy siege train from Puebla, and, at the worst, a line for safe retreat to Vera Cruz would have been left open, and in the last extremity the emperor could have escaped his fate, or dictated honorable terms of surrender. In settling this decisive question the emperor was guided by the counsels of Lares, president of the council of ministers, to whom the emperor had also referred the vital questions of ending the war and establishing some form of government, through the intervention of Congress, involving his own abdication and terms of amnesty with Juárez; and of Márquez, who had already in mind a scheme for his own glorification and profit.

Márquez persuaded Maximilian that if he showed the Mexicans that he had implicit confidence in them, by taking command in person, and that he did not rely solely upon his foreign troops, he would forever attach them to

him and to his cause. His chivalric nature was fired at such a thought, and, to the amazement of his friends, he permitted Marquez, with 5000 Mexican troops, to leave the capital, reserving a garrison of only 2200 foreigners and 5000 Mexicans. Maximilian accompanied the column, the only foreigners he took with him being a troop of Austrian cavalry as a personal escort, his doctor, secretary, and Hungarian body-servant.

This movement, so weighted with fate to the empire, and so surprising to all who expected a vigorous defense of the city, was made known on the 13th of February, 1867, through an imperial decree. The objective point of this expedition was the old city of Queretaro, where Miramon had taken refuge after his terrible defeat at San Jacinto; where Mejia had hastened with his small but victorious force; and where Mendez, then commander-in-chief, was endeavoring to concentrate all the imperial troops. After a sharp engagement at Calpulalpan, in which the emperor displayed great personal bravery under a heavy fire, and a march in which the imperial troops were harassed by daily attacks, the column reached Queretaro on the 22d of February, 1867.

Even the extravagant predictions of the wily Marquez bore the look of truth in the welcome of the people, always friendly to the imperial cause, and in the assurances of loyalty that were plentiful on every hand. The struggle for the mastery, for imperial station, for honor, and at last for life, was made in this ancient stronghold, where the tides of battle had so often ebbed and flowed ; the star of empire set beyond its encircling hills, and on one of their peaceful slopes the final act in the drama of the French intervention in Mexico was soon to be performed.

It were profitless to tell in detail the story of the siege, with its horrors and distress, its heroism and cowardice, its achievements and its sacrifices. There were, all told, but nine thousand men in the imperial army to withstand the Liberals under Escobedo, forty thousand strong. Brilliant feats in warfare, sortie, and repulse ; the assault and capture of San Gregorio ; the dashing charge of Salm-Salm, with his regiment of cuirassiers ; the battle to the death of the infantry in the streets and trenches ; the savagery that gave no quarter ; the starvation and slaughter of non-combatants ; the rascally desertion of Marquez, who was

sent to the capital for aid in raising the siege ; the quarrels among the Mexican generals ; the hand-to-hand conflict on the Cimatario ; the re-capture of the Panteon ; the gallant defense of the Cruz ; the attempts to break through the lines ; the councils of war ; the overtures to the enemy ; the final surrender through treachery—all these have passed into history, and lift into bold relief the central and commanding figure in that tragic picture. With the emperor, in that group of historic characters, stand his trusted and loyal friend, Salm-Salm, and Miramon, Mejia and Castillo, Marquez and Mendez, Vidaurri and Lopez—Mexicans and Indians, faithful and true, jealous and vindictive, merciless and cowardly in the coming test of their qualities as soldiers and as men.

In the angry storms of the Adriatic, in the hazards of naval service, in the perils of political revolution, in every emergency, Maximilian had been noted for his coolness and courage ; but it was in this supreme crisis, amid the horrors of the long siege,—which, in suffering and savagery, has few parallels,—with dishonor or death as the alternative, that the gentler virtues of his humanity as well evoked the

admiration even of his bitterest foes, and consecrated the manhood that closed his life with a prayer for their forgiveness.

Every personal convenience and comfort was set aside. The emperor gave up the house chosen for headquarters, for a hospital, and lived in a miserable room in the Cruz, on the usual soldiers' rations. The sick and wounded were the objects of his personal care. He ministered to their needs, appointed his own physician in charge of them, and cheered many sufferers with kind words, or a decoration for some meritorious service. At night and in the daytime he visited the lines and trenches alone, and challenged the sentinels, talked with the soldiers ; and each day he rode on horseback to the most dangerous points, exposed to the heaviest fire. Only Mejia's wit induced him to modify this practice. "*Consider, Señor,*" said he, "*if you get killed, we shall all fall to fighting, to see who will be the next president.*" There was the truth of Mexican history in the sentiment. Each day, in the Plaza de la Cruz, where shot and shell fell thick and fast and the enemy's infantry fired at every one who exposed himself, he walked with seeming unconcern, in vain courting the

death that would not come. "*I will have no one shot, even though I know him to be guilty. If things go well here, good; if badly, I shall have nothing on my conscience,*" was his answer to the request of some of his officers that certain deserters who had been taken should be immediately executed. Near the close of the siege, when it was known that vengeance was the dominant sentiment of Mexico and the life of Maximilian its only satisfaction, and he was entreated to take the cavalry and force his way to the capital, as the only chance of escape, and leave the remainder of the troops to continue the defense, he refused, saying: "I do not deceive myself. I know if they catch me, they will shoot me; but while I can fight I will not run away. I would rather die. It is against my honor to leave the army. What would become of this city, so faithful to us? And our wounded we cannot take with us. It is impossible."

And so marked, even among the veterans of so many fields, was the quiet, unostentatious bravery of their chief, so gallant his bearing when often exposed to instant death, that they resolved to bestow upon him some special token of their admiration. The most prized

of the decorations granted under the empire, was the bronze medal for valor, bearing on one side the head of Maximilian, and on the other a laurel wreath with the legend *Al Merito Militar*. On one occasion, when the officers who had won this distinction were assembled to receive it, and the ceremony was over, General Miramon stepped forward, and presented the medal to the emperor himself, with these words :

“Your Majesty has decorated your officers and soldiers, as an acknowledgment of their bravery, faithfulness, and devotion. In the name of your Majesty’s army, I take the liberty of bestowing this mark of valor and honor to the bravest of all, who was always at our side in all dangers and hardships, giving us the most august and brilliant example, a distinction your Majesty deserves before any other man.”

The 10th of April, 1867, was the third anniversary of his acceptance of the crown of Mexico ; and on that day he issued to the citizens of Queretaro an address, which clearly defined the motives that governed him in his final effort to save the empire, and serve the people over whom he had been called to reign.

“Three years of arduous labor, of great difficulties, have passed. Already one fruit has resulted from this

period, in that I am able to demonstrate to my fellow-citizens the consistency, the honesty, and the loyalty of the intentions of my government. . . . For three years I have had to struggle painfully against influences hurtful to our country ; but triumphed over, at last, so that not one blot remains upon our glorious national flag. I have been able to combat with constancy and good faith, because I based the strength of my rights, and the foundation of my legality, by the innumerable acts which, transmitted to Miramar by worthy sons of the nation, affirm and re-affirm in the historical documents of the great majority of the Mexicans my mission as their chief. At the moment of the evacuation of our territory by the foreigners, when one of my most sacred tasks—that of watching over the integrity of our country, and protecting her threatened independence—was completed, I believed that my further remaining at the head of the nation would be an obstacle. I have called since, in consequence of this doubt, a legal council, composed by my care of men of all parties, and of the most pronounced political colors, to place in their hands and on their responsibility a free and frank decision on this question, so delicate and important for my conscience. The opinion of the council being prompt, and almost unanimous, that it would be a grave short-coming on my part to abandon in the actual moment of crisis the post to which the nation had called me, I consequently consented to dedicate myself a second time to the arduous task, which obstacles innumerable render more difficult every day ; but, at the same time, yielding to my most cherished and innermost impulses before leaving Orizaba to return to the capital, I convoked the nation to a free and

constitutional congress, intending to submit with readiness to the final decision of my fellow-citizens, and proposing to lay before them, also, all the acts, documents, and accounts of my Government, which, with a clean conscience, I could submit to their judgment and to that of the entire world. You, sirs, know why that congress was never freely and fully organized according to my intentions, because our antagonists were not, like us, willing to submit to the national will. The truth is, that acts already become historical, rendered it difficult for them to press for judgment before a free and impartial congress. Our duties and our tasks are now, in consequence of this, more clear. We have to defend our national independence, as well as our liberty, and to restore to the nation that free action and dignity which have so long been prostrated under the absolute terrorism exerted by the cohorts of social revolution. On the 16th September, 1865, I said to you that every drop of my blood is now Mexican ; and if God should permit new perils to menace our dear country, you should see me fight in your ranks for her independence and her integrity. Those who surround me in the difficulties and perils of to-day in Queretaro see that I have fulfilled my promise. The following year, on the same day of memorable record, I said 'that without blood, without pain, no human triumph, no political reformation, no lasting progress had ever been accomplished' ; adding, also, that I was 'still firm in the struggle which the vote of the nation had called me to carry on, and, notwithstanding all the difficulties, I would not falter in my duties, since it was not in the moment of danger that a true Hapsburg would abandon his post.' And here I am, struggling

cheerfully by your side. Let us continue to advance with determination on the road of our rights, and God will recompense our efforts, giving us as our reward the peace and liberty of our country. Let our rallying cry always, and on all occasions, be the immaculate motto, 'Viva la Independencia.'"

The crisis came on the 14th of May. It was the sixty-seventh day of the siege, and the fifty-second since Marquez left for Mexico for reinforcements and money, and no tidings had been received from him. Food and forage were nearly exhausted, and it was clear the garrison could not hold out much longer. A council of war was held; and it was decided that the whole army should move out at midnight, and cut its way through the Liberal lines.

The story of the officers and men massacred in cold blood at San Jacinto and Puebla, put unconditional surrender out of the question. All the male citizens between the ages of fifteen and fifty were enrolled and armed to occupy the lines and cover the sortie; and this hazardous task was assigned to the gallant and faithful Mejia,—“Pap Tomasito,” as the Indians loved to call him. If the attempt succeeded, it would compel Escobedo to raise the siege,

and the emperor and his army might force their way to the capital. It was a stormy night, with everything favorable for the desperate enterprise. The garrison was called to arms, the artillery moved up, and all waited the signal to advance in silence. The emperor and his staff rode to the head of the column about midnight; and, as they halted for a moment, five deserters were brought in. They were closely questioned, and stated that, in the hope of a reward, they had brought the important news that San Luis was besieged; that Juarez himself was there, and in such extremity that he had ordered Escobedo to raise the investment of Queretaro and come to his assistance. Their story seemed true; and a council of generals was called, and it was decided to wait two days more; against the remonstrance of Salm-Salm and others, the orders for the attack on the lines were countermanded; and the troops returned to their stations. The appearance of these deserters, at a critical moment, with their ingenious account of affairs at San Luis, was the first step in a conspiracy to betray the emperor and his cause, and surrender the city to his enemies.

The central figure in that picture of cowardice and treachery was a Mexican, Miguel Lopez. Lopez was a cavalry officer in the Mexican army, and had attracted the emperor's attention by his fine face and bearing, and his acts of daring on several occasions ; and in the early days of the empire, without examination of his previous history, he was given important posts, and marks of confidence and distinction were bestowed upon him. He was made governor of the castle of Chapultepec, honored with the command of imperial escorts, and finally appointed to the colonelcy of the empress's regiment,—the most valued of all commissions in the service. He was granted many gifts in money and estates ; the emperor acted as godfather to one of his children ; he was made commander of the imperial guard, organized for the emperor's personal protection ; he received the cross of the Legion of Honor from Bazaine ; and at the opening of the siege he had been chosen, from all others, to command the key of Queretaro,—the convent of La Cruz. And yet he was the man who, while loud in his demonstrations of loyalty and affection, opened negotiations with the enemy, and sold his friend and benefactor to dishonor and

death ; the same man, in nature and spirit, who was dismissed from the army in the days of Santa Anna as "*no longer worthy to belong to the honorable profession of soldiers.*"

The price of Lopez's treachery was two thousand gold ounces, and a guaranty of his own personal safety. In the night of the 14th of May, the company on duty at the convent entrance, the detachment of the empress's regiment, and the body-guard, who were ready to move instantly on the emperor's order, were removed by Lopez, in accordance with his agreement with Escobedo, and detachments from the Liberal army were brought up to the convent walls, and some of them occupied the lower stories ; and the great stronghold of the city was thus left defenseless.

At dawn of the 15th, Lopez suddenly entered Salm-Salm's room, and said excitedly, "Quick ! save the emperor's life ; the enemy is in the Cruz !" Salm-Salm hurried to the emperor's room, and found him fully dressed ; and, on announcing the fact stated by Lopez, he quietly said : "*We are betrayed. Go and let the guard and hussars march out. We will go to the cerro, and see how we can arrange this matter. I shall come directly.*" It is probable

that at this moment the emperor hoped that the death which he had often sought in vain amid the bursting shells on the plaza might be at hand, and clothed him with the calmness and stoicism that marked every incident of his capture and surrender as a prisoner of war. He left the convent with Salm-Salm, Castillo, Pradillo, and his secretary Blasio on the way to the hussars' quarters, across the plaza ; and outside the door they were halted by some soldiers of the enemy. To their surprise, Lopez stepped out from this group with the Liberal colonel, Rincon ; and the latter, after saluting the emperor and his friends, said to the escort : "*They may pass ; they are citizens.*" It was the evident wish of some one in authority that the emperor should escape ; and as he pressed on to the hill outside the walls, he was again met by Lopez, now armed and on horseback, who implored him to go to the house of Rubio the banker, where he would be safe. His only answer was : "*I do not hide myself.*" He refused to mount his horse ; sent orders to Miramon and Mejia to come with the hussars, and all other forces they could muster ; and passing a cavalry battalion of the enemy, with Lopez at its head, the party

passed on foot to the rallying point at the top of the hill.

Dense columns of infantry surrounded the position ; several batteries opened a heavy fire ; only a handful of the imperial troops reached the top ; many of the Mexicans openly went over to the enemy ; and suddenly the bells of the convent rang out the signal that the treason of Lopez had been successful. Miramon had been badly wounded and taken prisoner in his effort to reach the emperor ; the hussars had been captured and disarmed by an overwhelming force, with Lopez in command ; and only Mejia, Campos, Salm-Salm, and a few other officers were at hand. The emperor asked Mejia if they could cut their way out ; and he simply said : "Your Majesty may look around and judge. I care but little whether I am killed ; but I will not take the responsibility of leading your Majesty to certain death." "Now for a lucky bullet, Salm," was the emperor's pathetic cry a moment later, as he saw the white flag raised at two points near him, and knew that further resistance was useless, and the sacrifice of life unjustifiable in the increasing fire of artillery and musketry, and with the hill surrounded by Liberal battalions.

A messenger was sent with a flag of truce to treat for terms of surrender. Escobedo sent his chief of staff, who courteously declared the emperor a prisoner; and on announcing his wish to see the commander-in-chief in person, the emperor and his officers were provided with horses, and, with a strong escort, set out for Escobedo's headquarters. They met the general with his staff and body-guard near one of the city's gates; the swords of the prisoners were demanded and delivered to various officers; and after a brief interview between the emperor and Escobedo, an order was given for a return to the Cerro. On their arrival, at Escobedo's request they entered one of the tents, accompanied only by Salm-Salm and Mirafuentes; and, after a few moments' silence, the emperor made three requests—that if more blood must be shed, it might be only his own; that all who had served in the imperial army might be spared; and that all persons of his household, who wished, might be granted safe escort to the coast to sail for Europe. Escobedo answered that he would report the requests to the government, and added the important and assuring statement that the emperor and those belonging to him should be treated as prisoners of war.

They were then taken in charge, marched down to the convent, over which the imperial flag was still waving ; assigned to different rooms, and sentinels were stationed at all approaches, and at each prisoner's door. The city was occupied by the Liberal troops ; rioting and pillage were suppressed, and supplies were served out to the famine-stricken people. The hussars and other imperial troops were disarmed and paroled, or forced to enlist in the Liberal ranks and sent to reinforce Diaz at the siege of Mexico. An order was issued that all civil and military officers should report themselves to Escobedo within twenty-four hours, on penalty of being shot without trial. Don Carlos Miramon and Arellano escaped through the lines ; Mendez was discovered after the limit had expired, and immediately shot ; Escobar, Casanova, Moret, and others surrendered, and were sentenced to various terms of criminal imprisonment by a drum-head court-martial, and the initial chapter in Lopez's treason was finished.

" He is dead ; they will kill him ; I know the Mexicans," said Carlotta in a lucid interval ; and in truth when the news of the surrender and capture reached the seat of government at

San Luis, an order was issued for the immediate execution of Maximilian and certain of his officers; and a question of deepest moment was thus presented to the powers that had recognized the empire,—to our own people, anxious to save the name of republicanism from the stain of such a sacrifice; and to the statesmen of Mexico, willing to be generous and humane in the presence of victory. Imperialism still trusted the traditional respect for its titles and dignities; Maximilian thought himself a mere prisoner of war, and entitled to treatment as such, and no one interpreted the real significance of the savage declaration of a Liberal officer to the prisoners in the Cruz, when they laughed at the ragged and forlorn appearance of the sentinels: "*Laugh on, gentlemen; those fellows are still good enough to shoot you.*"

Against this blind confidence in the situation there stood the potent fact of the destruction of the republic and the setting up of a monarchy in its stead, by force of arms; and the logic of Mexican history, the creed of the revolutionist, that the execution was a military or state necessity. Was not Iturbide done to death at Padilla, an illustrious example? But above all

considerations of patriotism or politics there stood the merciless law of 1862, passed in the administration of Juarez, which provided that any foreigner or native taken in arms against the republic should be shot forthwith. It was this law that, in the final result, was cited by the state, alleging the crime of treason and justifying its penalty.

The story of the attempts to save the lives of Maximilian and his friends is one of great interest. After the betrayal and capture at Queretaro, there was but one course to pursue. Success was only possible through direct appeals to the government by persons of influence, reinforced by friendly suggestions from the various powers. The most efficient service in this behalf was rendered by the Prince and Princess Salm-Salm. The prince was an officer of distinction in both the Prussian and Austrian armies, who served in our civil war on the Union side, winning the rank of brigade commander, and who joined the emperor in 1866, as a staff officer and chief of his household. He was a school-fellow of Maximilian's, bound to him by the ties of affection and honor, and became his most trusted counsellor, and was an eye-witness of all that transpired in the

empire's closing days. Not less trusted by the emperor was the princess,—a woman of supreme tact and courage, who undertook, in person, the difficult and perilous service of interviewing Diaz at Mexico, Escobedo at Queretaro, and Juarez and his ministers at San Luis ; wrung from them the recall of the first order of execution, time for negotiations, and finally, the only chance of deliverance, in the decree for a trial by court-martial.

The first advantage was gained in the remonstrance of Escobedo against the summary execution, on the ground that it would involve Mexico with the United States, as they had already made solemn protest against the wanton massacre of the French officers at San Jacinto. The Princess Salm-Salm was in the City of Mexico when the news came of the order for the shooting of the prisoners ; and, inspired by devotion to the emperor and his cause, and fear for her husband's life, she at once set to work for their reprieve and rescue. Marquez, the renegade and traitor, who had set out to win glory on his own account, had been driven from the field to the capital, where he was besieged by Diaz, the victor of Puebla, who was quietly waiting for starvation and misery to do

their work. To Diaz the first appeal was made. The Princess, after consultation with the Austrian officers and others, visited his headquarters under a flag of truce ; and, believing that her action would be ratified, she guaranteed the surrender of the city in exchange for a permit for the foreign troops to leave the country, and a pledge of safety for Maximilian and his officers.

Diaz agreed to refer the proposals to the government, except the stipulation as to the emperor and his personal enemies, Marquez and Vidaurri ; and this he declined. The princess was fired upon, and barely escaped death on her return to the lines ; she was suspected of treasonable negotiations, held under surveillance for several days ; and at last she was handed a passport, with an order to leave Mexico. She at once set out for the seat of government at San Luis Potosi, and, arriving there after many perils and hardships, she gained an interview with Juarez and his ministers. Armed with the eloquence and persuasion of love and loyalty, she pleaded with great force and earnestness for the prisoners' lives. She was treated with marked kindness and courtesy ; but her prayers were denied.

She succeeded, however, in securing a promise from Juarez in person, that a trial should be had ; and, with this concession, she returned to Queretaro to inform the emperor and her husband.

Meanwhile the representatives of Austria, Prussia, Italy, and Belgium had arrived there ; and all efforts were directed to engaging counsel, and to preparations for the defense. Escobedo, after his remonstrance against the immediate execution, refused all requests, save to serve as a means of communication between the government and the prisoners, and hold them under strict espionage in the San Teresita and Capuchin convents, and thwart the plans of escape.

Pending the official order for the trial, Maximilian made certain overtures of great significance. The conditions were stated in a memorandum of May 20th, written by Prince Salm-Salm at the emperor's instance. They covered, in express terms, the renewal of the abdication of the Mexican crown, his pledge to never interfere in Mexican politics, a surrender of all arms and fortifications, and the guaranty of a safe passage to Vera Cruz. Escobedo referred the questions to the govern-

ment ; and they were taken into account as mere incidents of the discussion of what the fate of Maximilian should be.

When all overtures had been refused and the intentions of the authorities became known, at the instance of Salm-Salm an attempt to escape was resolved upon, in the belief that, if Vera Cruz could be reached, better terms of capitulation might be made. Salm-Salm was charged with the details ; and by the aid of a bribe, given in charge of the Princess, and covered in the emperor's bill of exchange on a house in Vienna, to be honored on certain conditions, he had arranged for the flight on the night of the 2d of June, when the emperor changed his mind, with the vacillation which seemed his fate, and notified Salm-Salm that he would not go, as he ought not to disappoint the foreign ministers, and his counsel, who had come up from the capital, and whom he had invited to meet him on the following day. Meantime the bribed officer disclosed the whole scheme, and the last opportunity was lost.

On the 8th of June the government issued an order for the trial of Maximilian, Miramon, and Mejia at court-martial ; and the court was

made up of a lieutenant-colonel and six captains specially detailed. The sessions were held in the Iturbide theatre. The court occupied the stage; the balconies were draped in the national colors; the house was filled with spectators, and nothing was omitted to enhance the dramatic incidents of the occasion or to intensify public opinion.

Maximilian was not present owing to his serious illness; and only Miramon and Mejia were called to plead in person. The judge-advocate was Azpiroz, a man of subtle resources and fiery eloquence, and inspired by his service in the cause of the people. The counsel for the defense were the eminent Mexican lawyers, Palacio, De la Torre, Vasquez, and Ortega. There was, in truth, but one answer to the government's case, and that was a plea for mercy, for humanity to the prisoners, and an appeal to national pride, to patriotism, and the exercise of charity in the hour of victory. Every argument of fact, of law, of sentiment, of honor, was advanced in support of this vital proposition; but Mexico, true to her history, for the "crimes of the empire," demanded the supreme expiation.

At the trial it was urged that Maximilian

accepted the throne only upon conclusive evidence that such was the people's will ; that his government had been recognized by all the powers but the United States ; that he had remained after the departure of the French only to save his friends, and at the request of a great party, and pending a congress to determine the form of government ; that he had offered to abdicate and leave the country on usual conditions of amnesty ; that he had signed the " Black Decree " on official assurances that Juarez had left Mexico and his government had ceased to exist ; that the tribunal was incompetent in rank to try him, and had no jurisdiction ; and that he was simply a prisoner of war, and entitled to personal protection.

Only necessary formalities were observed in the proceedings ; a verdict of guilty was promptly rendered, and the prisoners were sentenced to be shot, at a date to be fixed by the government. The sentence was affirmed on the day it was announced by Juarez and his council, and the execution was fixed for the 16th of June. The representatives of the various powers, the Princess Salm-Salm, and other friends undertook at once the task of

obtaining a pardon or modification of the sentence. Every consideration was offered,—pledges that Maximilian would leave the country, and never interfere in its affairs; of alliance and assistance from the various powers; of full indemnity for damages and wrongs inflicted by the empire; and, at last, threats of summary vengeance if the execution took place. All failed to move the government from its purpose; but a reprieve of three days was finally granted for the prisoners to arrange their affairs.

The causes that controlled Juarez and his cabinet, in the great question of Maximilian's fate, are summarized in a letter of the time, written to a friend by Mr. Romero, the Mexican minister at Washington, eminent in his patriotic service to the two republics.

“If Maximilian should receive pardon and return to Europe, he would be a standing menace to the peace of Mexico; he would call himself emperor, and have a court at Miramar, the rallying point of all dissatisfied Mexicans, who would intrigue with him; the powers would recognize him in the event of a return to Mexico, following the example of Iturbide, and threaten the country with complications. If the pardon should be granted, the government would be considered weak and cowardly, instead of magnanimous; and in any event, all power for mischief must be destroyed.”

“ Maximilian persisted in a useless attempt to shed Mexican blood after the French forces withdrew,” was Minister Lerdo’s answer to our minister’s request that the emperor and his supporters might be treated as prisoners of war ; and the real necessity which led to the execution, is reflected in the words of Juarez in his final answer to the earnest and tearful appeal of the Princess Salm-Salm : “ *I am grieved, Madam, to see you thus on your knees before me ; but if all the kings and queens in Europe were in your place, I could not spare that life. It is not I who take it : it is the people and the law ; and if I should not do its will, the people would take it and mine also.*”

CHAPTER IX.

Mexican vengeance—Decree of execution—June 19, 1867—Preparations for death—Maximilian's letters—Appeal to Juarez—Messages to Emperor of Austria—Archduchess Sophia—Farewell to Carlotta—To the "Hill of the Bells"—Address to the Mexican people—Miramon's plea—Mejia's stoicism—Execution of the sentence—Austria's request for Maximilian's remains—Final consent of the Mexican government—Burial in Vienna—Paris in 1867—Louis Napoleon's triumphs—Memories of Maximilian and his fate—Judgment of history.

THE dream of empire was over ; the protests of the nations, the prayers of friends for mercy, had failed ; and the spirit of cruelty, the lust for blood that had sent to shameful deaths some of the noblest men in Mexican history, now demanded Maximilian's life as the price of its satisfaction. In the morning of the 19th of June, the tolling bells announced the coming execution of the Republican decree. Maximilian, and Miramon and Mejia, who were to die with him, were permitted to spend a part of their last night together, under guard, in a spacious room once used as a hos-

pital by the French garrison. The faithful priest, Father Soria, volunteered to minister to them in their extremity, and the hours passed in preparations for the morrow.

Maximilian wrote several letters, to his legal advisers, to Juarez, to his brother the Emperor of Austria, to his mother the Archduchess Sophia, and to his wife. It was in his letter to Juarez that he left to history the surest witness of his real nobility of character.

“About to suffer death for having wished to prove whether new political institutions could succeed in putting an end to the bloody civil war which has devastated this unfortunate country for so many years, I shall lose my life with pleasure, if that sacrifice can contribute to its peace and prosperity. Fully persuaded that nothing solid can be founded on a soil drenched in blood and shaken by revolutions, I conjure you in the most solemn manner, and with the true sincerity of the moments in which I find myself, that my blood may be the last to be shed; that the same perseverance which I was pleased to recognize and esteem in the midst of prosperity—that with which you have defended the cause which has just triumphed—may consecrate that blood to the most noble task of reconciling the minds of the people, and in founding in a stable and durable manner the peace and tranquillity of this unhappy country.”

In his letter to the Emperor Francis Joseph, he entreated him to provide generously for those

who had been faithful to him, and who had lost their fortunes in his cause. To his mother he sent tender and loving words of consolation, and the assurance of his readiness to die for the honor of his name and station. This was his message to Carlotta :

“MY BELOVED CARLOTTA : If God permit that your health be restored, and you should read these few lines, you will learn the cruelty with which fate has stricken me since your departure for Europe. You took with you, not only my heart, but my good fortune. Why did I not give heed to your voice? So many untoward events ! Alas ! so many sudden blows have shattered all my hopes ; so that death is but a happy deliverance, not an agony to me. I shall die gloriously like a soldier, like a monarch, vanquished but not dishonored. If your sufferings are too great, and God shall call you soon to join me, I shall bless His divine hand which has weighed so heavily upon us. Adieu, adieu.

“Your poor

“MAXIMILIAN.”

He gave the letters to the priest, and also handed him his will, in which remembrances were given to many of the foreign officers and to all his servants, and legacies were left to the families of Miramon and Mejia. At four o'clock the last sacraments were administered and a mass was celebrated. At six o'clock the com-

mander of the guard entered the room, and announced the order of the government to carry out the sentence of the court-martial. Maximilian simply said, "I am ready"; and, calling to his two friends, they went out of the convent together. At the door he paused a moment and said to Ortega, "Ah! what a glorious day; it is such as I desired for my death."

The "Hill of the Bells," memorable as the scene of the last battle and surrender, was chosen for the execution. Three carriages were provided for the condemned, and Maximilian entered the first one accompanied by Father Soria; and the solemn procession, guarded by an escort of four thousand soldiers, with a squadron of lancers at the head, passed on through the streets crowded with people who had assembled to pay their last tribute of respect and loyalty. On arriving at the hill, Maximilian alighted, and, followed by Miramon and Mejia, walked quickly to the open end of the square of troops, where three crosses had been placed to mark their positions.

He looked earnestly about him, and, at a wave of his hand, silence fell on all; and in a steady, clear voice he said:



JUAREZ

"Mexicans : Men of my rank and origin are destined to become the benefactors of the people, or their martyrs. Called by a part of you to the throne, I have lived and cared only for the welfare of the country. I did not come to you through ambition, but I came filled with the best wishes for the future of my adopted country, for the future of the brave men to whom, in my hour of death, I render thanks for their sacrifices.

"Mexicans : May my blood be the last shed for the welfare of this country. But if it be necessary that others shall shed theirs, then may it flow for the benefit of the nation, and not in consequence of treason.

"Long live independence ! Long live Mexico !"

Miramón's appeal was to his old comrades in arms :

"Soldiers of Mexico, my countrymen, I find myself here sentenced to die as a traitor. When my life does not belong to me, when in a few brief moments I will be no more, I proclaim before you and the whole world, that I have never been a traitor to my country. I have fought for her, and to-day I fall with honor. I have children ; and I implore you not to suffer this stain to be affixed to my memory, much less to them. Viva Mexico ! Viva the emperor !"

Mejía, with the stoicism of his race, said nothing. The firing party detailed for the execution, consisting of three officers and three platoons of seven men each, came into position

at a few paces' distance. Maximilian stepped forward and gave a gold piece to each soldier, saying: "Boys, aim well; aim at my heart," and to the officer who prayed his forgiveness: "Courage, my son; no forgiveness is necessary; you must obey your orders." Returning, he exchanged places with Miramon, and said: "General, sovereigns always admire the brave, and on the point of death I wish to give you the place of honor"; and to Mejia: "General, he who has not been rewarded on earth, will certainly be in heaven." The final moment had come; and each man stood quietly, with uncovered eyes, to meet his fate. An instant's silence, the ringing orders, the sharp report of the rifles, and his faithful companions sealed their devotion to Maximilian with their lives; and he, with the sorrowful cry, "Oh, man!" yielded up his own to Napoleon's greed of conquest and power, and the dazzling visions of imperial dignity and renown.

It was only after many cruel delays, and at last in answer to the urgent request of the Emperor Francis Joseph, that the government consented that the body of Maximilian might be conveyed to Europe; and in November, 1867, the solemn salutes of artillery, and the

sad monotones of bells in the old Spanish city which had once given him royal welcome, voiced the farewell of Mexico to the young ruler she had sacrificed; and in the *Novara*, which bore him and Carlotta on their errand of empire, his remains were returned amid sorrowful greetings at Havana, Trieste, and Vienna, to find a resting-place in the imperial mausoleum which guards the ashes of the princes of the house of Austria.

“Home there came a stately fleet, with the prince in winding-sheet :

And they laid him in the vaults beside his many mighty peers ;

Yet if he could but have said where he wished to lay his head,

’T would have been within that valley where he passed such joyous years,

Miramar.”

France had seen no such pageant in all her history as the exposition of her arts and industries which Napoleon had planned and carried to a complete success in the brilliant summer days of 1867. Paris was a city of splendor and revelry. The rulers of the earth, the Czar of Russia, the Emperor of Austria, the kings of Prussia, Greece, Belgium, and Sweden,

the Prince of Wales, the Viceroy of Egypt, the Sultan of Turkey, and others of less renown, with their dazzling retinues, had gathered there to do honor to the man they had at no distant day ridiculed and despised, and to lend additional lustre to the new page in his singular history. They saluted him, so silent, so stolid of demeanor, for the triumphs he had so quickly won,—the throne of France, and equality among the crowned heads; and was it not he who had carried to fruition the Napoleonic traditions, and out of the haze of romance in his early life had he not evoked a stalwart semblance of magnificence and power?

It was while the festivities were at their height that the first whispers of the tragedy on the “ Hill of the Bells ” were heard in the secret councils, and then amid the throngs at the Tuileries. To many of the royal visitors the victim was related; and, in their sorrow for his fate, they could but feel that their host, who had induced him to accept the throne on the guaranties now just broken, was in a great measure responsible for the cruel sacrifice.

Who can question that deep regret stirred

Napoleon's soul, in his hours of repose and meditation, as he thought of the brave man done to death, and his loving wife in her hopeless madness at Miramar? The rifle-shots on that summer morning were the distant signals of the coming storms that should engulf the Second Empire and its creator ; and in his life at the council board, in the stormy contests for supremacy with the Empress, in the tender thoughts of the prince and his future, in the complex web of politics and diplomacy, in the moments of heroic battle with disease, who can doubt there came bitter memories of Maximilian in his farewell to life ? and voices heard only of him, told again the sad story, until the smoke of battle shrouded his trembling figure on the way to the Prussian headquarters, and his strange history closed in the pathetic inquiry of his faithful friend and physician, Conneau, in the final hour at Chiselhurst—" Were you at Sedan ? "

To those who read history in the cold light of exact criticism, who with narrow vision measure men and events only as they serve to illustrate one philosophic theory or another, the Franco-Mexican intervention will ever be merely one of the episodes in the mock royal-

ism of the Second Empire, and the story of Maximilian and Carlotta one of mistaken ambition, of the lust of power, of deserved misfortune.

But to those who salute the qualities of humanity, courage, and virtue in royal lives, the empress in her ability as a ruler, in her fateful and heroic mission to save the crown, and at last in her infirmity and sorrow, will command sympathy and admiration; and the emperor, wanting at times in strength and decision, but never in loyalty and honor, in his brilliant career as scholar, admiral, and viceroy, in his ideals of government and his chivalric endeavor to enforce them, in his gallant fight against the inevitable, consecrating both his purposes and achievements by his tragic sacrifice, will stand pre-eminent among the knightly sons of Hapsburg-Lorraine.

When the secrets of state, even now so jealously guarded, are made known, and the intervention can be seen in its true relations, the historian of our times will mark in the meeting of the envoys in London on that memorable day a remarkable chapter in human progress, the initial step in a march of events, out of which, in the providence of

God, have come, for the good of mankind, from imperial France, republican France ; from Maximilian and the empire, Diaz and the republic ; from despotism, liberty ; from the curse of anarchy, the benediction of peace.

THE END.

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